

# ECHOES *from the* GREEK BRONZE AGE

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*An Anthology of  
Greek Thought  
in the  
Classical Age*

BY

ROBERT D. MORRITT



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P U B L I S H I N G

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An Anthology of Greek Thought in the Classical Age,  
by Robert D. Morritt

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## FOREWORD

Over the years I had accumulated much archaeological information on the Classical era together with many notes on the individuals and their thoughts and works.

I decided to make a ‘compendium’ of information on the individuals rather than make this into an archeological treatise which would have been too large a scope and would detract from concentrating on the early works of these archaic literary individuals.

Biographical information is included together with excerpts from their works of selected Classical thinkers are included with their views on Life, the Gods, History (including nautical battles) Myths, Odes and scientific theories.

### Highlights

Simonides ‘Art of Memory’ – the Loci – Dwells on the use of visual objects, how to retain them mentally as an aid to improve concentration. The proponent of this art was the hermetic *Giordano Bruno*, [1] (1548-1600.) a Dominican monk who left the convent and wandered throughout Europe relating the secrets of the Art to all who would listen to him including the King of France Giordano he was *burned at the stake for heresy in 1600*

Hecataeus, his survey of the ‘then known’ world, author of *Periodos gēs* “Survey of the Earth”.

Xenophanes, gives an account of fossils “shells are found in the midst of the land and among the mountains, that *the quarries of Syracuse the imprints of a fish and of seals had been found.*”

He was the forerunner of the art later introduced, of dating objects by stratification in geological deposits.

Anaxagoras ponders “Earth is condensed out of these things that are separated. For water is separated from the clouds, and earth from the water.”

Xenophon; *Hellenica*, presents vivid descriptions of battle; “The Athenians, finding themselves besieged by land and sea, were in sore perplexity what to do.”

Without ships, without allies, without provisions, the belief gained hold upon them that there was no way of escape. They must now, in their turn, suffer what they had themselves inflicted upon others;

Xenophanes; His ‘sayings’, as evidenced in the following quotation, “When Empedokles said to him (Xenophanes) that the wise man was not to be found, he answered: Naturally, for it would take a wise man to recognise a wise man.”

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book was brought to fruition by the kind assistance of Carol Koulikourdi and Amanda Millar of Cambridge Scholars Publishing. I have thoroughly enjoyed working with them.



## HECATEUS OF MILETUS

Hecataeus was a native of Miletus in Asia Minor, a Greek geographer, historian cartographer who designed a map of the world.and author of a geographical survey of the regions and the peoples in the Achaemenid Empire.

Considered to be the most influential of the early Ionian prose writers (Herodotus 5.36, called him a *logopoios* “prose writer”)

Hecataeus was the son of Hegesandros and belonged to the old nobility of Miletus.

Due to his role as an adviser in the early days of the Ionian revolt (fall of 499 B.C.E.) against Persian domination, it is generally assumed that he was born before 545 B.C.E.

When the circles around Aristagoras (q.v.), the tyrant of Miletus, showed determination to revolt against Darius I the Great (q.v.), Hecataeus reportedly at first warned them, without success, against such a move, reminding them of the extent of the Persian imperial territory. Later he later urged them, (in vain) to strive with all possible means for mastery at sea (Herodotus 5.36). The rebels initially enjoyed partial success in their attack on Sardis, but they were soon driven back and were defeated by a Persian counter-offensive.

Hecataeus advised Aristagoras, who had decided to escape Miletus, to entrench himself on the island of Leros and wait quietly there for future developments in Miletus. His advice, however, was rejected; and Aristagores set out for Thrace. After the failure of the rebellion, Hecataeus is said to have interceded with Artaphrenēs , the great king’s brother and the satrap of Sardis since 540 B.C.E., for lenient treatment of the Ionians (Diodorus 10.25.4).

Herodotus (2.143) reported a discussion between Hecataeus and the Egyptian priests at Thebes.

It has been suggested that Hecataeus had made numerous long journeys (see Jacoby) but it can not be determined with any degree of certainty to what extent his reports were really based on personal observations. Whether Hecataeus was an immediate pupil of the philosopher Anaximander of Miletus is an open question, but, in any case, he probably improved the latter's world-map and supplemented it with narrative accounts of the earth (ca. 510 B.C.E.?). It may have been Hecataeus's map, engraved on a bronze tablet, which, according to Herodotus (5.49), Aristagoras presented to King Cleomenes of Sparta in his efforts to convince the king that an attack into the heartland of Asia would bring him a great deal of riches.

Hecataeus is the author of *Ges Periodos Periegesis*, or *Travels Around the Earth* in two books each organized in the manner of a periplus, a point-to-point coastal survey. One book on Europe is essentially a periplus of the Mediterranean, describing each region in turn, reaching as far north as Scythia. The other book, on Asia, is arranged similarly to the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea of which a version of the 1st century AD survives. Hecataeus described the countries and inhabitants of the known world, the account of Egypt being particularly comprehensive; the descriptive matter was accompanied by a map, based upon Anaximander's<sup>1</sup> map of the earth, which he corrected and enlarged.

The earth is depicted as a circular plate, around which flows the Ōkeanos "ocean" (i.e., outer river). The map was supplemented by a descriptive account (*Periēgēsis*) that was divided into two sections, *Europē* and *Asiē*. Of the 374 surviving fragments of the work no less than 304 derive from the geographical lexicon *Ethnika* by Stephanus of Byzantium<sup>2</sup> (6th cent.

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<sup>1</sup> Anaximander (Ancient Greek: Ἀναξίμανδρος, *Anaximandros*) (c. 610 BC–c. 546 BC) was a pre-Socratic Greek philosopher who lived in Miletus, a city of Ionia; Milet in modern Turkey. He belonged to the Milesian school. He learned the teachings of his master Thales. He succeeded him and became the second master of that school where he counted Anaximenes and Pythagoras amongst his pupils.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen of Byzantium, also known as Stephanus Byzantinus (Greek: Στέφανος Βυζάντιος; fl. 6th century AD) was the author of an important geographical dictionary entitled *Ethnika* (Εθνικά) of which only fragments survive. There exists an epitome compiled by Hermolaus. Little is known about Stephanus, other than he was a grammarian at Constantinople, he lived after the time of Arcadius and Honorius, and before that of Justinian II. Hermolaus dedicated his epitome to Justinian; it is not known if it was dedicated to the first or second emperor bearing that name., there is a strong probability it was dedicated to Justinian I as

C.E.). Primarily, this material contains chorographic (basic cartographic data) supplemented by *aitiai* and etymologies.

The map was organized based on contemporary coastal navigation (*periploi*)gations), depicting clockwise the shorelines of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea from Gibraltar back to Gibraltar, also displaying Asia Minor, Syria, and the entire Near East, Egypt, North Africa, the western Mediterranean region, Greece, and South Russia (the land of the Scythians). Persia, India, and Arabia, were depicted along the coasts of the Outer Sea, the “Erythraean,” as Hecataeus named the Indian Ocean.

Controversy has also given rise to discussion of the manner and extent to which Herodotus used the map of Hecataeus. This is despite Herodotus’s own words as well as the statement by Porphyry (ca. 300 C.E.) that two fairly lengthy passages from the second book of Herodotus’s *History* have been copied verbatim from Hecataeus (Jacoby, *Fragmente*, No. 1, F 324a; idem, pp. 2728 ff.). Hecataeus introduced his history with the words: “What I write here is the accounts which I consider to be true: for the stories of the Greeks.”

The four Books called *Genealogiai* (also cited as *Historiai* or *Hērōologia*) probably date from some time after 500 B.C.E. They represent an attempt, in prose and in a lucid and rationally comprehensible approach, to classify and systematize the mythical era genealogically, including also his own family traditions (Herodotus 2.143). Although only about thirty fragments of this book have survived, still the contrast it presents to the earlier “epical” systemization of mythical materials is remarkable: Not only did Hecataeus establish in this book a fixed calendrical procedure (e.g., the era of the “Return of Heraclidae”), but he also introduced the principle of credibility into the *Hellēnōn logoi* (Jacoby, 1957, I, F 1a), based on the criterion of “rational probability” (*eikos*: Jacoby, *Fragmente*, No. F 27.)

## Logographoi people

The sixth century BCE was the *fin de siècle* of the old Greek elite. Traditionally the towns and tribes had been ruled by aristocrats, then merchants became prominent and this resulted in expansion of the town,

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Stephanus worked in Byzantium in the earlier part of the sixth century AD, under Justinian I.



The merchants now exercised much influence unlike the aristocrats, who often claimed the Homeric heroes as their ancestors and used this claim as a source of legitimacy, the new elite had no traditional prestige. The new 'prominente' consisted of, *Thales of Miletus*, Anaximander of Miletus, Anaximenes of Miletus, and *Heraclitus* of Ephesus, usually known as 'the first philosophers'. Their conscientious attitude gave rise to their being considered the founders of Western science.

During the first half of the 5th. Century BCE, logographoi people wrote unadorned prose accounts of *what they thought was the truth about the past*. They didn't discount the gods, so much as *push back the time of the gods and insert in the temporal space provided a past whose rules were much as those that operated in the world around them*.

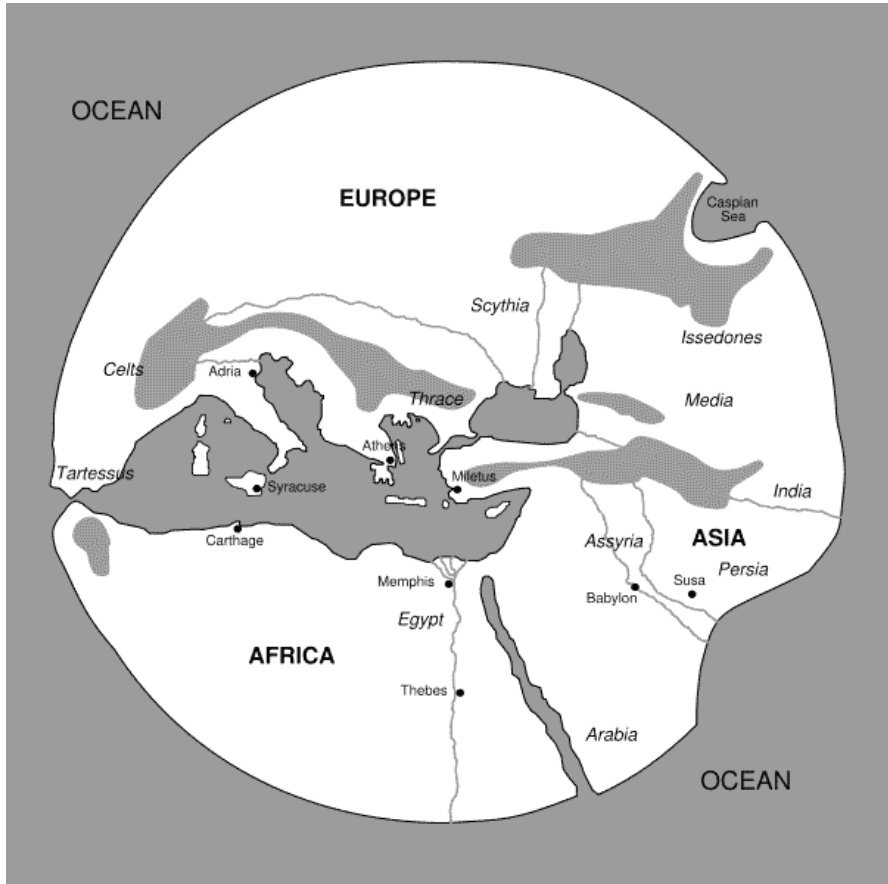
This was sometimes a weak impulse. So, instead of claiming descent from the gods in three or four or fewer generations, as did the Achaean heroes, the apparently noble Hecataeus of Miletus was modest enough to insert *sixteen mortal generations between himself and a god*. (This may have been a result of agreeing with the earlier Achaeans about how long it had been since the gods went around routinely begatting mortals, or it may have been a joke.)

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## Archaic Era Map

(Based on a map designed by Anaximandes)



Source: (Map) <http://www.mlahanas.de/Greeks/Bios/Hecataeus.html>

### **Hecataeus' map, described by Herodotus**

“I laugh when I see that many have designed maps of the earth, yet no one has been able to present the matter in an intelligent way. They draw an Ocean flowing round the earth, which they present as exactly circular, and they make Asia equal in size to Europe.”

The map can be seen as a synopsis of Hecataeus' Description of the earth (*Periegesis* or *Periodos ges*). In two volumes, called 'Europe' and 'Asia', the author described the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea - in the first part

from west to east, and in the second volume from east to west, including the African coast.

Sometimes, Hecataeus left the coast and went upstream along a river. The surviving fragments show that his prose was clear and unadorned, and that the author was interested in towns, distances, rivers, mountains, nations, tribes, and boundaries. Customs, animal life, flora, scenery, mythology, and the stories about the foundation of a town were not ignored. On the other hand, historical information seems to have been almost absent. The book also included the coast of the Atlantic Ocean: there was at least one reference to Melitta (modern Oualidia) in the west of Morocco. This reference is extremely important, because it proves that Hecataeus had - direct or indirect - access to the travel log of the Carthaginian voyager *Hanno*, who had visited this region. Unfortunately, we have no idea about Hecataeus' other sources, although we know that Hecataeus visited Egypt and may assume that he received information from Greek sailors.

The *Description of the earth* survives in the form of 330 usually very brief fragments. One quote, however, is quite long: the description of Egyptian animals (hippopotamus, crocodile, *phoenix*) that can be found in the second book of Herodotus' *Histories*. Unfortunately, the story about the hippo does not really suggest that Hecataeus had actually seen this animal. It has been assumed that in the sixth century, the hippopotamus was no longer living in Egypt. Hecataeus may have heard a tale, and Herodotus must have copied it. Another story that Herodotus copied from Hecataeus is the highly schematic description of the Sahara.

Hecataeus also published the *Genealogies* (sometimes called *Histories*, 'researches'), a history of the Greek heroes. About forty fragments have survived. Its first line has become famous:

Hecataeus of Miletus says: I write down what I think is true, because the stories told by the Greeks are, in my opinion, ridiculous and countless.

This is the statement of a man who tried to systematize the loose and unrelated - and therefore ridiculous - stories told by his countrymen. Hecataeus designed a chronological system in which the gods and heroes were organized. It was not the first attempt to systematize Greek myths and legends, but it was influential. Most scholars -to start with Herodotus- accepted Hecataeus' chronology.

We may think that Hecataeus was being critical about stories that were too fanciful to be critical about - and perhaps we are right, but on the other hand: Hecataeus was one of the first scholars to skeptically research the ancient tales. Moreover, he was the first to investigate the depths of history. Hecataeus may not have been a real historian like Herodotus, but he was certainly a great mind. (*Source- livius*)

## HECATE or HEKATE ancient Greek Ἑκάτη, *Hekátē*

Greco-Roman goddess associated with magic, witches, ghosts, and crossroads.

She is attested in poetry as early as Hesiod's *Theogony*. An inscription from late archaic *Miletus* naming her as a protector of entrances is also testimony to her presence in *archaic Greek* religion.

Regarding the nature of her cult, it has been remarked, "she is more at home on the fringes than in the center of Greek polytheism. Intrinsically ambivalent and polymorphous, she straddles conventional boundaries and eludes definition." She has been associated with childbirth, nurturing the young, gates and walls, doorways, crossroads, magic, lunar lore, torches and dogs.

In *Ptolemaic Alexandria* and elsewhere during the Hellenistic period, she appears as a three-faced goddess associated with ghosts, witchcraft, and curses. Today she is claimed as a goddess of *witches* and in the context of *Hellenic Polytheistic Reconstructionism*. Some *neo-pagans* refer to her as a "*crone* goddess", though this characterization appears to conflict with her frequent characterization as a virgin in late antiquity. She closely parallels the Roman goddess *Trivia*.

The *Theogony* (Greek: Θεογονία, *Theogonía*, the birth of God[s]) is a poem by Hesiod is believed to have been a contemporary of Homer and lived in Boeotia in the 8<sup>th</sup> Century BC.

The *Theogony* described the origins and genealogies of the gods of the ancient Greeks. It is written in the same artificial Epic dialect of Ancient Greek used and after a lengthy hymn to the Muses. Hesiod gives a history of the world from the earliest era up until the period when Zeus became the omnipotent King of the Gods. The work evolves with descriptions of

Chaos, Erebus, Gaia, Ouranos, Oceanus and the Titans, Kronos eventually the Goddesses ,i.e., Aphrodite, Hecate, the Titan Rhea's offspring namely Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Poseidon and Zeus. The story betrays a primitive chaotic world and the Inception of the first Olympians. (*Author*)

### **Aristogoras**

Aristogoras served as deputy governor of Miletus, He was the son of Molpagoras, and son-in-law (and nephew) of Histiaeus, whom the Persians had set up as tyrant of Miletus. Aristogoras controlled Miletus while Histiaeus was being held by the Persian emperor Darius at Susa. Aristogoras was the main orchestrator of the Ionian Rebellion, when the Greek poleis of Ionia on the east coast of the Aegean Sea banded together to rebel against the rule of the Persian Empire.

Exiled citizens of Naxos came to Miletus to seek refuge. They asked Aristogoras to supply them with troops, so that they could regain control of their homeland. Aristogoras hoped that if he supplied troops, he could become ruler of Naxos, so he made a deal with the Naxians. He claimed that he did not have enough troops, but that Artaphernes, Darius' brother and the Persian satrap of Lydia, who commanded a large army and navy on the coast of Asia, could help supply troops.

The Naxians allowed Aristogoras to do their business with Artaphernes and supplied him with money. And so Aristogoras went to Sardis and told Artaphernes to attack Naxos and restore the exiles with the implication the Artaphernes would be in control of the territory. He insisted that Naxos "was a fine and fertile island, close to the Ionian coast, and rich both in treasures and slaves." Aristogoras promised that he would both fund the expedition and give Artaphernes a bonus sum. He also tempted Artaphernes by adding that capturing the island would place other poleis of the Cyclades under his control, which would serve as a base for attacking Euboea. Artaphernes agreed and promised 200 ships. The following spring, Aristogoras and the Naxian exiles sailed with the fleet. Unfortunately for the invasion, Aristogoras quarrelled with the admiral Megabates, who then informed the Naxians that the fleet was coming. Naxos then had enough time to prepare for a siege. Four months later, the siege still held, the Persians were out of supplies, and few funds remained. The expedition had failed, and they sailed home.

## The Peloponnese before Greek Inhabitation

*Hecataeus of Miletus* mentioned that prior to the time of the Greeks the Peloponnese was inhabited by barbarians. Yet one might say that in the ancient times the whole of Greece was a settlement of *barbarians*,.... whereas the Dryopes, the Caucones, the Pelasgi, the Leleges, and other such peoples, apportioned among themselves the parts that are inside the isthmus--and also the parts outside, for Attica was once held by the Thracians who came with Eumolpus, Daulis in Phocis by Tereus, *Cadmeia* by the Phoenicians who came with Cadmus, and Boeotia itself by the Aones and Temmices and Hyantes. moreover, the barbarian origin of some is indicated by their names--Cecrops, Godrus, Aiclus, Cothus, Drymas, and Crinacus. And even to the present day the Thracians, Illyrians, and Epeirotes live on the flanks of the Greeks (though this was still more the case formerly than now); indeed most of the country that at the present time is indisputably Greece is held by the barbarians--Macedonia and certain parts of Thessaly by the thracians, and the parts above Acarnania and Aetolia by the Thesproti, the Cassopaei, the Amphiloichi, the Molossi, and the Athamanes, Epeirotic tribes.

Source - Strabonis book VII

## Scepticism

Hecataeus' work, especially the *Genealogiai*, shows a marked scepticism, opening with "Hecataeus of Miletus thus speaks: I write what I deem true; for the stories of the Greeks are manifold and seem to me ridiculous not criticize the myths on their own terms; his disbelief rather stems from his broad exposure to the many contradictory mythologies he encountered in his travels.

An anecdote from Herodotus (II, 143), of a *visit to an Egyptian temple at Thebes*, is illustrative. It recounts how the priests showed Herodotus a series of statues in the temple's inner sanctum, each one supposedly set up by the high priest of each generation. Hecataeus, says Herodotus, had seen the same spectacle, after mentioning that he traced his descent, through sixteen generations, from a god.

The Egyptians compared his genealogy to their own, as recorded by the statues; since the generations of their high priests had numbered three hundred and forty-five, all entirely mortal, they refused to believe Hecataeus's claim of descent from a mythological figure. This encounter

with the immemorial antiquity of Egypt has been identified as a crucial influence on Hecataeus's scepticism: the mythologized past of the *Hellenes* shrank into insignificant fancy next to the history of a civilization that was already ancient before *Mycenae* was built

He was probably the first of the *logographers* to attempt a serious prose history and to employ critical method to distinguish myth from historical fact, though he accepts *Homer* and other poets as trustworthy authorities. Herodotus, though he once at least controverts his statements, is indebted to Hecataeus for the concept. Unlike his contemporary *Xenophanes*, he did of a prose history.

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Identified as a crucial influence on Hecataeus's scepticism: the mythologized past of the *Hellenes* shrank. *The History of History*; Shotwell, James T. (NY, Columbia University Press, 1939) p. 172

*The Ancient Greek Historians*; Bury, John Bagnell (NY, Dover Publications, 1958), pp. 14, 48. Detailed article on Hecataeus of Miletus, bibliographiy (excerpts from 1911 Encyclopædia Britannica.)

## Hecataeus in Egypt

Hecataeus of Miletus, visited Egypt between B.C. 513-501. His travels later influenced Herodotus from whom we owe much knowledge of Egypt, and he must be considered the earliest Greek writer upon Egypt. Hellanitus of Mytilene, B.C. 478-393, shows in his *Αἰγυπτιακά* that he has some accurate knowledge of the meaning of some hieroglyphic words. Democritus wrote upon the hieroglyphics of Meroë but this work is lost. Herodotus says that the Egyptians used two quite different kinds of writing, one of which is called sacred (hieroglyphic), the other common (demotic). Diodorus says that the Ethiopian letters are called by the Egyptians "hieroglyphics."

Strabo, speaking of the obelisks at Thebes, says that there are inscriptions upon them which proclaim the riches and power of their kings, and that their rule extends even to Scythia, Bactria, and India. Chaeremon of Naucratis, who lived in the first half of the first century after Christ, and who must be an entirely different person from Chaeremon the companion of Aelius Gallus (B.C.25), Greek writers upon Egyptian hieroglyphics

derided by Strabo, and charged with lying by Josephus wrote a work on Egyptian hieroglyphics, *περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων*, which has been lost. He appears to have been attached to the great library of Alexandria, and as he was a "sacred scribe," it may therefore be assumed that he had access to many important works on hieroglyphics, and that he understood them.

He is mentioned by Eusebius as *Χαιρήμων ὁ ἱερογραμματεὺς*, and by Suidas, but neither of these writers gives any information as to the contents of his work on hieroglyphics, and we should have no idea of the manner of work it was but for the extract preserved by John Tzetzes on Egyptian hieroglyphics. John Tzetzes (Τζέτζης, born about AD. 1110, died after AD. 1180). Tzetzes was a man of considerable learning and literary activity, and his works have value on account of the lost books which are quoted in them. In his *Chiliades* (Bk. V., line 395) he speaks of ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἱερογραμματεὺς Χαιρήμων, and refers to Chaeremon's *διδάγματα τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων*.

In his *Exegesis* of Homer's *Iliad* he gives an extract from the work itself, and we are able to see at once that it was written by one who was able to give his information at first hand. This interesting extract was first brought to the notice of the world by the late Dr. Birch, who published a paper on it in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Vol. III., second series, 1850, pp. 385-396. In it he quoted the Greek text of the extract, from the edition of Tzetzes' *Exegesis*, first published by Hermann, and added remarks and hieroglyphic characters illustrative of it, together with the scholia of Tzetzes

Source - <http://www.sacred-texts.com/egy/trs/trs02.htm>

*Hecataeus was one of the first classical writers to mention the Celtic people.*

## History of the Celts (The Keltoi)

### *Who Were the Celts?*

Ancient Greek historians, like Herodotus (400 BC) and Hecataeus of Miletus (500 BC), wrote about the Keltoi, a group of Iron Age "barbarian" tribes with a common language and culture that inhabited vast territories of Europe.



Most of these Greek and Roman authors whose works have survived didn't have any first hand knowledge of the Celts. *Most of the extant writing comes from* the first two centuries of the common era, and *rely on observations of the Stoic philosopher*<sup>3</sup> Poseidonius, early 1st century BC, whose own writings have been lost. His information was based on first hand knowledge of Celtic society in Gaul. Scraps of his writings are contained in later writings, especially Athenaeus, Diodorus Siculus, mid 1st century BC and Strabo 40 BC-25 AD.

The Keltoi's dominion stretched from Ireland and the western Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal) in the west to Bohemia (Czech Republic), Bavaria (Germany) and Austria<sup>4</sup> the east. The Celts were a mixture of western Indo-European peoples who created vivid ornamental art and spoke a language described by the Romans as Celtic. Their social power structure included warlords and priests known as druids. They lived in hill towns made to defend populated areas from other warring Celtic tribes. With the arrival of the Roman Empire, Celtic civilization nearly disappeared. Most of western Europe, except Ireland, was Romanized. According to Caesar there are no contemporary religious writings from the Celts themselves because, as the Celts had a *religious prohibition against writing things down*.

From Posidonius we learn that Celts subscribed to the Pythagorean idea of transmigration of the soul, which Caesar mentions as well though he couches it in terms of making the fighters unafraid of death. Julius Caesar had the opportunity to see Celts at first hand, both on the continent and in Britain, but his concerns were mainly military. His writings also served as propaganda to raise money for his campaign against them. He wasn't particularly interested in religion other to note the influence of the Druids on the nobility. Caesar describes the Druids, saying they 'officiate at the

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<sup>3</sup> Posidonius (Greek: Ποσειδώνιος / Poseidonios) "of Apameia" (ὁ Ἀπαμεύς) or "of Rhodes" (ὁ Ῥόδιος) (ca. 135 BCE - 51 BCE), was a Greek stoic, philosopher, politician, astronomer, geographer, historian and teacher native to Apamea, Syria. He was acclaimed as the greatest polymath of his age. None of his vast body of work can be read in its entirety today, as it exists only in fragments.

<sup>4</sup> The first discovery of the Celts occurred at Hallstatt, in Austria. In 1846. A mining inspector (Johann Georg Ramsauer) discovered a burial ground. Later Rudolf Pertner described the finds at the site included, pins, brooches, belts, earrings, daggers, spear-heads, axes and bronze pots and numerous earthen ware items. The finds are since then described as "The Hallstatt Culture". Source- 'The Celts' Econ Verlag 1975, Gerhard Herm.

worship of the Gods, regulate public and private sacrifices, and give rulings on all religious questions. Large numbers of young men flock to them for instruction and they are held in great honour by the people. They act as judges in practically all disputes whether between tribes or between individuals.' He also noted that the Druids had the power to ban someone from the sacrifice, which meant both excommunication and shunning by the community. He mentions that there are many and diverse deities but does not name them except to use the name of whichever Roman deity possessed similar attributes.

Source; Athenaeus: The Deipnosophists Book 4 (excerpts) *Translated by C.D.Yonge (1854)*. Edited and abridged – R.D.Morritt

### ***The Celts in Ireland***

In Ireland, the Celts prospered. Ireland was linguistically untouched for many centuries, protected by the sea which made it inconvenient and inaccessible to Roman invaders. It was also unique in being the only western European country, with the exception of the Viking north, to which Christianity came without the Roman conquest. Old pagan festivals like Bealtaine, Samhan and Lughnasa, became 'Saints' days. From the 8th through 10th century, Vikings raided and set up colonies in eastern Ireland. Later came the Norman invaders and the English, who subdued Ireland and suppressed its Gaelic language until the early 20th century.

### ***The Celts in the British Isles***

With the arrival of the Romans, the Celts in the British Isles were pushed to inaccessible regions. Celtic traditions and language were maintained in the remoter parts of Great Britain: Cornwall, western Wales and the Highlands of Scotland. After the collapse of the Roman Empire, Great Britain was conquered by northern Germanic tribes: Angles, Saxons and Jutes, in the 5th and 6th centuries AD.

### ***The Celts in the Iberian Peninsula***

Most Celts settled in the northwestern Iberian peninsula (Galicia, Asturias, Tras-os-Montes). In other parts of western Iberia they became known as Celtiberians. Far from home, they mixed with the local population. It took two centuries for the Romans to subdue Iberian Celts because of widespread guerrilla fighting. In the end, most of Spain and Portugal were Romanized and Latin replaced all pre-Roman languages except Basque.

When the Roman Empire fell, most of Spain and Portugal were conquered by the Visigoths, except Galicia where a Germanic tribe known as the Sueves formed an independent kingdom. Galicia and Asturias in Spain and Tras-os-Montes in Portugal are currently the Iberian regions with deeper Celtic roots.

### *The Celts in France*

The "barbarians" who inhabited France during the Roman invasion were known as Gauls, a Celtic culture. The Celts, who were already a mixture of peoples, mingled with the conquered population. With Romanization, the Celtic language disappeared from France. After the Romans, Franks and Burgundians took over most of France, including Brittany. The Breton language was re-imported from the British Isles in the 6th and 7th century when Celts from Wales colonized the region. It was a re-Celtization of Brittany, ethnically and culturally.

### *Poseidonius (Describes the Celts)*

Poseidonius mentions; And Poseidonius the Stoic, in the histories which he composed in a manner by no means inconsistent with the philosophy which he professed, writing of the laws that were established and the customs which prevailed in many nations, says , " The Celts place food before their guests, putting grass for their seats, and they serve it up on wooden tables raised a very little above the ground; and their food consists of a few loaves, and a good deal of meat brought up floating in water, and roasted on the coals or on spits. And they eat their meat in a cleanly manner enough, but like lions, taking up whole joints in both their hands and gnawing them; and if there is any which they cannot easily tear away, they cut it off with a small sword which they have in a sheath in a special box.

Those who live near the rivers eat fish also, and so do those who live near the Mediterranean sea, or near the Atlantic ocean; and they eat it roasted with salt and vinegar and cumin seed: and cumin seed they also throw into their wine. But they use no oil, on account of its scarcity; and because they are not used to it, it seems disagreeable to them. but when many of them sup together, they all sit in a circle; and the bravest sits in the middle, like the *coryphaeus* of a chorus; because he is superior to the rest either in his military skill, or in birth, or in riches: and the man who gives the entertainment sits next to him; and then on each side the rest of the guests

sit in regular order, according as each is eminent or distinguished for anything.

Their armour-bearers, bearing their large oblong shields, called *thureoi*, stand behind; and their spear-bearers sit down opposite in a circle, and feast in the same manner as their masters. And those who act as cup-bearers and bring round the wine, bring it round in jars made either of earthenware or of silver, like ordinary casks in shape, and the name they give them is ἀμβίκοϛ and their platters on which they serve up the meat are also made of the same material; but some have brazen platters, and some have wooden or plaited baskets.

The liquor which is drunk is, among the rich, wine brought from Italy or from the country about Massilia; and this is drunk unmixed, but sometimes a little water is mixed with it. But among the poorer classes what is drunk is a beer made of wheat prepared with honey, and oftener still without any honey; and they call it κόμμα. And they all drink it out of the same cup, in small draughts, not drinking more than a *cyathus* at a time; but they take frequent draughts: and a slave carries the liquor round, beginning at the right hand and going on to the left; and this is the way in which they are waited on, and in which they worship the gods, always turning towards the right hand."

Poseidonius continued, relating the riches of Luernius the father of Bityis, who was subdued by the Romans, says that "he, aiming at becoming a leader of the populace, used to drive in a chariot over the plains, and scatter gold and silver among the myriads of Celts who followed him; and that he enclosed a fenced space of twelve furlongs in length every way, square, in which he erected wine-presses, and filled them with expensive liquors; and that he prepared so vast a quantity of eatables that for very many days any one who chose was at liberty to go and enjoy what was there prepared, being waited on without interruption or cessation. And once, when he had issued beforehand invitations to a banquet, some poet from some barbarian tribe came too late and met him on the way, and sung a hymn in which he extolled his magnificence, and bewailed his own misfortune in having come too late: and Luernius was pleased with his ode, and called for a bag of gold, and threw it to him as he was running by the side of his chariot; and that he picked it up, and then went on singing, saying that his very footprints upon the earth over which he drove produced benefits to men." Those now are the accounts of the Celts given by Poseidonius in the twenty-third book of his history.

It is to Pliny the Elder, 1st century AD, that we owe our image of the Druids cutting mistletoe<sup>5</sup> with a golden sickle. It was an afterthought on the mistletoe entry in his book on trees. The word he used was 'sacerdos' not Druid, and it was probably the Vates who would perform such a ritual. We get this division of the Celtic 'priesthood' from Strabo's 'Geographica' written at the end of the 1st century BC, which states 'Among all the Gallic peoples, generally speaking, there are three sets of men and women who are held in exceptional honour: the Bards, the Vates, and the Druids. The Bards are singers and poets; the Vates, diviners and natural philosophers; while the Druids, in addition to natural philosophy, study also moral philosophy.'

It is popularly accepted that mistletoe was revered by the ancient Druids, although the only known classical reference describing the ritual gathering of mistletoe was the following account written in the first century by Pliny the Elder in his *Naturalis Historia*:

For they believe that whatever grows on these trees is sent from heaven, and is a sign that the tree has been chosen by the gods themselves. The mistletoe is very rarely to be met with; but when it is found, they gather it with solemn ceremony. This they do above all on the sixth day of the moon, from whence they date the beginnings of their months, of their years, and of their thirty years cycle, because by the sixth day the moon has plenty of vigour and has not run half its course.

After due preparations have been made for a sacrifice and a feast under the tree, they hail it as the universal healer and bring to the spot two white bulls, whose horns have never been bound before. A priest clad in a white robe climbs the tree and with a golden sickle cuts the mistletoe, which is caught in a white cloth. Then they sacrifice the victims, praying that the gods will make their gifts propitious to those to whom they have given it. They believe that a potion prepared from the mistletoe will make barren animals to bring forth, and that the plant is a remedy against all poisons. (from *Naturalis Historia* (XVI, 95) by Pliny the Elder).

Additionally, Irish vernacular evidence does tend to support this three part division. Classical sources tended to sensationalise Celtic religion. They were, after all writing about foreigners who were considered barbarians. Like today it's the unconventional and 'uncivilised' information that received the most attention, there was little accurate information about the Celtic Deities, as the authors tended to use their own Gods, already

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<sup>5</sup> Druid Mistletoe Gathering.

understood by the populous, who they thought nearest to worship of the Celtic Gods. Again like today they were the sensationalist's like Lucan 1st century AD, who reported that the three major Gods of the Gauls demanded human sacrifice, Taranis (burning), Teutates (drowning), and Esus (hanging and wounding). The Romans had banned human sacrifice only a generation or two earlier and this was reported, so the Romans could be seen to be superior beings, early propaganda.

The classical writers of the day also describe the Celt's appearance, Diodorus tells of the men of the Gauls being tall and fair with loud voices and piercing eyes, and the women being nearly as big and strong and as fierce as their menfolk. Tacitus described the Caledonii of Scotland as having reddish hair and large loose limbs, the Silurians of Wales described as swarthy, with dark curly hair. Dio Cassius as large and frightening, with bright red hair, Strabo records that both sexes liked to wear lots of jewellery, this is confirmed by archaeological findings, showing heavy torcs, brooches, rings, necklets and bracelets.

An idealised picture of the classical Celt is best described by Virgil in the following quote, 'Golden is their hair, and golden is their garb. They are resplendent in their striped cloaks, and their milk-white necks are circled in gold.'

Inscriptions on alters and votive objects provide almost 400 names of Celtic deities, unfortunately many of the names just appear the once, and have no evidence about the deity, others had descriptive epithets added to their names, others are paired to Roman deities, allows us to guess more accurately about their Celtic counterparts.

Some classical Roman deities receive Celtic epithets, and classical Gods often received Celtic consorts. The Celts were seen to have a hierarchy in the sense of a coherent pantheon dwelling in some remote place. The human world and the Otherworld formed a unity in which the human and divine interact. Each location has numinous powers which are acknowledged by the people as we can see by their naming of mountains, rivers and other natural features many of which have associated deities.

When the Celts invaded Greece in 278 BC, Brennus entered the precinct of Delphi, saw no gold and silver dedications, only stone and wooden statues and he laughed at the Greeks for setting up deities in human form. Caesar mentions that the Germans worship the forces of nature only.

## **Baltic trade routes – Amber - Hypoboreans**

For worship of gods and goddesses, the Balts erected temples or sanctuaries the remains of which were excavated in the mounds of Tushemlia and Gorodok on the Sozh River, now in Russia (3rd - 4th centuries) on the Blagoveshchensk hill on the Desna River near Briansk, now in Russia (5th - 6th centuries, on the Bačkininkėliai mound near Prienai, Lithuania (1st - 5th centuries), etc. Of later times, well-known are the Romovė temple in Prussia, the Perkūnas temple in Vilnius, the supposed goddess of love Milda temple near Kaunas, etc.

An analogy is easily drawn between the Baltic mythology and the mythology of Indo-Aryans, Greeks, Romans and other ancient peoples. Even the names of certain gods are similar. No doubt, the northern and southern nations communicated as early as 2000 B.C., as evidenced by finds of Baltic amber in Crete, Troy, Egypt and other countries of the Mediterranean. Evidence of a direct contact has been fixed by *Hecataeus of Miletus* and Pindar (5th century B.C.) and Herodotus (4th century B.C.) who mention the Hyperboreans who lived north of the Scythian tribes. The Hyperboreans were said to have the same religion as the Greeks. Their land was considered the birth-place of titaness Letona (Leto), mother of the twin-gods Artemis and Apollo. Apollo visited his motherland every year and spent the winter months there. Rybakov after analyzing existing historical sources, concludes that the Hyperboreans of the 6th - 5th centuries B.C. were Baltic tribes. Source:

<http://www.lithuanian.net/mitai/cosmos/baltai5.htm>

### ***Yevpatoria (Chavka)***

The most interesting. Yevpatoria is one of the oldest cities in Eastern Europe. The remains of fortification wall Kerkenitida – a prosperous ancient city, *known to the first geographer Hecataeus of Miletus* and the ‘father of history’ Herodotus can be seen on the Gorky quay (Military health resort beach). Greco-Scythian settlement “Chayka” (the name is conventional) is found near the pioneer camp “Luchistiy” is the northern outskirts of the city. But in the center the witnesses of medieval pages in the history of these places are preserved.

Source - *Главная* (Yevpatoria)

### ***Phoenicians***

In terms of archaeology, language, and religion, there is little to set the Phoenicians apart as markedly different from other local cultures of Canaan, because they were Canaanites themselves. However, they are unique in their remarkable seafaring achievements. Indeed, in the Amarna tablets of the 14th century BC they call themselves Kenaani orKinaani (Canaanites). Note, however, that the Amarna letters predate the invasion of the Sea Peoples by over a century. Much later in the 6th century BC, *Hecataeus of Miletus* writes that Phoenicia was formerly called χνα, a name Philo of Byblos later adopted into his mythology as his eponym for the Phoenicians: "Khna who was afterwards called Phoinix". Egyptian seafaring expeditions had already been made to Byblos to bring back "cedars of Lebanon" as early as the third millennium BC. Stories of their emigrating from various places to the eastern Mediterranean are probably founded in 'oral fact', but researchers are pursuing DNA tests to verify this assertion. Herodotus's account (written c. 440 BC) refers to the Io and Europa myths. (History, I:1)

Source – <http://www.theancientworld.net/civ/phoenicians.html>

## **Egypt**

The first known written accounts by Greeks of Egypt are from *Hecataeus of Miletus* (c. 510 BC) and Herodotus of Helicarnassus (c. 450 BC). The former work is lost, but is said to have contained only geological and botanical information, so no religious or cultural contamination could have resulted from its being read back in Greece. Herodotus spent at least three months traveling in Egypt, penetrating at least as far as the first cataract on the Nile, and dwelt on the history, lives, religion and wonders of Egypt in his second book, *Euterpe*. Source - <http://www.straightdope.com/columns/read/2146/did-the-greeks-borrow-egyptian-gods>

### ***Pelasgians (or barbarians)***

*Hecataeus of Miletus* says of the Peloponnesus that before the time of the Greeks it was inhabited by barbarians. Yet one might say that in the ancient times the whole of Greece was a settlement of barbarians, whereas the Dryopes, the Caucones, the Pelasgi, the Leleges, and other such peoples, apportioned among themselves the parts that are inside the isthmus and also the parts outside, for Attica was once held by the



Thracians who came with Eumolpus, Daulis in Phocis by Tereus, Cadmeia by the Phoenicians who came with Cadmus, and Boeotia itself by the Aones and Temmices and Hyantes.

The barbarian origin of some is indicated by their names, Cecrops, Godrus, Aïclus, Cothus, Drymas, and Crinacus, and even to the present day the Thracians, Illyrians, and Epeirotes live on the flanks of the Greeks (though this was still more the case formerly than now) indeed most of the country that at the present time is indisputably Greece is held by the barbarians--Macedonia and certain parts of Thessaly by the Thracians, and the parts above Acarnania and Aetolia by the Thesproti, the Cassopaei, the Amphiloichi, the Molossi, and the Athamanes—Epeirotic tribes.

Source - Strabonis book VII.

# ERASTOSTHENES OF CYRENE

## **Erastosthenes; (c.276 BCE – c.195 BCE)**

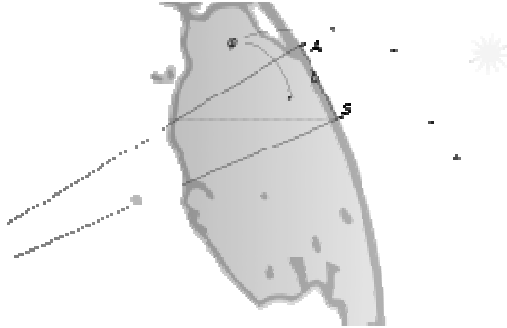
Greek mathematician, elegiac poet, athlete, geographer, and astronomer. He was the first person to use the word "geography" and invented the discipline of geography as we understand it. He made several discoveries and inventions including a system of latitude and longitude. He was the first person to calculate the circumference of the earth by using a measuring system using stades, or the length of stadiums during that time period (with remarkable accuracy), and the tilt of the Earth's axis ;also with remarkable accuracy) he may also have accurately calculated the distance from the earth to the sun and invented the leap day

Eratosthenes method to measure the circumference of the Earth.he published in a work, on the measurement of the Earth which unfortunately was lost. We know indirect about his method from other authors, mainly Cleomedes and Theon of Smyrna.

He also created a map of the world based on the available geographical knowledge of the era. In addition, Eratosthenes was the founder of scientific chronology; he endeavored to fix the dates of the chief literary and political events from the conquest of Troy.

According to the entry on him in the Suda (ε 2898), his contemporaries nicknamed him *beta*, from the second letter of the Greek alphabet, because he supposedly proved himself to be the second best in the world in almost any field.

### *Eratosthenes' measurement of the earth's circumference*



Measurements taken at Alexandria (A) and Syene (S)

From these observations, measurements, and/or "known" facts, Eratosthenes concluded that, since the angular deviation of the sun from the vertical direction at Alexandria was also the angle of the subtended arc (see illustration), the linear distance between Alexandria and Syene was  $1/50$  of the circumference of the Earth which thus must be  $50 \times 5000 = 250,000$  stadia or probably 25,000 geographical miles. The circumference of the Earth is 24,902 miles (40,075.16 km).

Over the poles it is more precisely 40,008 km or 24,860 statute miles. The actual unit of measure used by Eratosthenes was the stadion. No one knows for sure what his stadion equals in today's units, but most current specialists in antiquities accept that it was the regular Hellenic 185 meter stadion, and few if any would incline to an obscure definition that happened to make Eratosthenes's result correct. Had the experiment been carried out as described, it would not be remarkable if it agreed with actuality.

What is remarkable is that the result was probably about *one sixth too high*. His measurements were subject to several inaccuracies:

(1) though at the summer solstice the noon sun is overhead at the Tropic of Cancer, Syene was not exactly on the tropic (which was at  $23^\circ 43'$  latitude in that day) but about 22 geographical miles to the north; (2) Syene lies  $3^\circ$  east of the meridian of Alexandria; (3) the difference of latitude between Alexandria ( $31.2$  degrees north latitude) and Syene ( $24.1$  degrees) is really

7.1 degrees rather than the perhaps rounded ( $1/50$  of a circle) value of  $7^\circ 12'$  that Eratosthenes used;

(4) the actual solstice zenith distance of the noon sun at Alexandria was  $31^\circ 12' - 23^\circ 43' = 7^\circ 29'$  or about  $1/48$  of a circle not  $1/50 = 7^\circ 12'$ , an error closely consistent with use of a vertical gnomon which fixes not the sun's center but the solar upper limb 16' higher; (5) the most importantly flawed element, whether he measured or adopted it, was the latitudinal distance from Alexandria to Syene (or the true Tropic somewhat further south) which he appears to have overestimated by a factor that relates to most of the error in his resulting circumference of the earth.

There is some cause to question the reality of the legendary "experiment".

First, pacing the distance would be physically intimidating, across plenty of desert since the Nile isn't linear. Second, a traveller from Alexandria near the west extreme of the Nile delta would have had to veer on average over  $20^\circ$  east of due south to hit Syene, a nonsubtle conflict with Eratosthenes's reported experiment which put Syene directly south of Alexandria.

Third, if the Hellenic stadion is assumed for Hellenic Eratosthenes, the resulting 250,000 stadia (later given as 252,000 for divisibility) is pretty close to the overlarge size of the earth one would find by simple mathematics and enormously less travel, through measuring a sea horizon's angular dip as seen from a known height, since the computational result will be about  $6/5$  of the correct result ( $1/5$  too high) due to atmospheric refraction which for horizontal light is  $1/6$  of the curvature of the earth.

A parallel later legendary ancient measurement of the size of the earth was made by another influential Greek scholar, Posidonius. He is said to have noted that the star Canopus was hidden from view in most parts of Greece but that it just grazed the horizon at Rhodes. Posidonius is supposed to have measured the elevation of Canopus at Alexandria and determined that the angle was  $1/48$ th of circle. He assumed the distance from Alexandria to Rhodes to be 5000 stadia, and so he computed the Earth's circumference in stadia as  $48 \text{ times } 5000 = 240,000$ .

Some scholars see these results as luckily semi-accurate due to cancellation of errors. But since the Canopus observations are both mistaken by over a

degree, the "experiment" may be not much more than a recycling of Eratosthenes's numbers, while altering  $1/50$  to the correct  $1/48$  of a circle.

Later either he or a follower appears to have altered the base distance to agree with Eratosthenes's Alexandria-to-Rhodes figure of 3750 stadia since Posidonius's final circumference was 180,000 stadia, which equals  $48 \times 3750$  stadia. The 180,000 stadia circumference of Posidonius is suspiciously close to that which results from another unlaborious method of measuring the earth, by timing ocean sun-sets from different heights, a method which produces a size of the earth too low by a factor of  $5/6$ , again due to horizontal refraction.

The abovementioned larger and smaller sizes of the earth were those used by Claudius Ptolemy at different times, 252,000 stadia in the *Almagest* and 180,000 stadia in the later *Geographical Directory*. His midcareer conversion resulted in the latter work's systematic exaggeration of degree longitudes in the Mediterranean by a factor close to the ratio of the two seriously differing sizes discussed here, which indicates that the conventional size of the earth was what changed, not the stadion.

Although Eratosthenes' method was well founded, the accuracy of his calculation was inherently limited. The accuracy of Eratosthenes' measurement *would have been reduced* by the fact that *Syene is slightly north of the Tropic of Cancer*, is not directly south of Alexandria, and the sun appears as a disk located at a finite distance from the earth instead of as a point source of light at an infinite distance.

There are other sources of experimental error: the greatest limitation to Eratosthenes' method was that, in antiquity, overland distance measurements were not reliable, especially for travel along the non-linear Nile which was traveled primarily by boat. Given the margin of error for each of these aspects of his calculation, the accuracy of Eratosthenes' size of the earth is surprising.

Eratosthenes' experiment was highly regarded at the time, and his estimate of the earth's size was accepted for hundreds of years afterwards. His method was used by Posidonius about 150 years later.

# THE HISTORIES – HERODOTUS (ERATO)

## Book V1 – The Histories – Erato

*Translated into English by G. C. Macaulay*

{e Herodotou diathesis en apasin epieikes, kai tois men agathois sunedomene, tois de kakois sunalgousa}. —Dion. Halic.

{monos 'Erodotos 'Omerikhotatos egeneto}.  
—Longinus.

In the course of this year there was done by the Persians nothing more which tended to strife with the Ionians, but these things which follow were done in this year very much to their advantage. Artaphrenes the governor of Sardis sent for envoys from all the cities and compelled the Ionians to make agreements among themselves, so that they might give satisfaction for wrongs and not plunder one another's land. This he compelled them to do, and also he measured their territories by parasangs, that is the name which the Persians give to the length of thirty furlongs, he measured, I say, by these, and appointed a certain amount of tribute for each people, which continues still unaltered from that time even to my own days, as it was appointed by Artaphrenes; and the tribute was appointed to be nearly of the same amount for each as it had been before.

These were things which tended to peace for the Ionians; but at the beginning of the spring, the other commanders having all been removed by the king, Mardonios the son of Gobryas came down to the sea, bringing with him a very large land-army and a very large naval force, being a young man and lately married to Artozostra daughter of king Dareios. When Mardonios leading this army came to Kilikia, he embarked on board a ship himself and proceeded together with the other ships, while other leaders led the land-army to the Hellespont. Mardonios however sailing along the coast of Asia came to Ionia: and here I shall relate a thing which will be a great marvel to those of the Hellenes who do not believe that to the seven men of the Persians Otanes declared as his opinion that the Persians ought to have popular rule; for Mardonios deposed all the despots

of the Ionians and established popular governments in the cities. Having so done he hastened on to the Hellespont; and when there was collected a vast number of ships and a large land-army, they crossed over the Hellespont in the ships and began to make their way through Europe, and their way was directed against Eretria and Athens..

These, I say, furnished them the pretence for the expedition, but they had it in their minds to subdue as many as they could of the Hellenic cities; and in the first place they subdued with their ships the Thasians, who did not even raise a hand to defend themselves: then with the land-army they gained the Macedonians to be their servants in addition to those whom they had already; for all the nations on the East of the Macedonians had become subject to them already before this. Crossing over then from Thasos to the opposite coast, they proceeded on their way near the land as far as Acanthos, and then starting from Acanthos they attempted to get round Mount Athos; but as they sailed round, there fell upon them a violent North Wind, against which they could do nothing, and handled them very roughly, casting away very many of their ships on Mount Athos.

It is said indeed that the number of the ships destroyed was three hundred,, and more than twenty thousand men; for as this sea which is about Athos is very full of sea monsters, some were seized by these and so perished, while others were dashed against the rocks; and some of them did not know how to swim and perished for that cause, others again by reason of cold.

Thus fared the fleet; and meanwhile Mardonios and the land-army while encamping in Macedonia were attacked in the night by the Brygian Thracians, and many of them were slain by the Brygians and Mardonios himself was wounded. However not even these escaped being enslaved by the Persians, for Mardonios did not depart from that region until he had made them subject. But when he had subdued these, he proceeded to lead his army back, since he had suffered great loss with his land-army in fighting against the Brygians and with his fleet in going round Athos. So this expedition departed back to Asia having gained no honour by its contests.

In the next year after this Dareios first sent a messenger to the men of Thasos, who had been accused by their neighbours of planning revolt, and bade them take away the wall around their town and bring their ships to

Abdera. The Thasians in fact, as they had been besieged by Histiaios the Milesian and at the same time had large revenues coming in, were using their money in building ships of war and in surrounding their city with a stronger wall. Now the revenues came to them from the mainland and from the mines: from the gold-mines in Skapte Hyle there came in generally eighty talents a year, and from those in Thasos itself a smaller amount than this but so much that in general the Thasians, without taxes upon the produce of their soil, had a revenue from the mainland and from the mines amounting yearly to two hundred talents, and when the amount was highest, to three hundred.

I saw these mines, and by much the most marvellous of them were those which the Phenicians discovered, who made the first settlement in this island in company with Thasos; and the island had the name which it now has from this Thasos the Phenician. These Phenician mines are in that part of Thasos which is between the places called Ainyra and Koinyra and opposite Samothrake, where there is a great mountain which has been all turned up in the search for metal. Thus it is with this matter: and the Thasians on the command of the king both razed their walls and brought all their ships to Abdera.

After this Dareios began to make trial of the Hellenes, what they meant to do, whether to make war with him or to deliver themselves up. He sent abroad heralds therefore, and appointed them to go some to one place and others to another throughout Hellas, bidding them demand earth and water for the king. These, I say, he sent to Hellas; and meanwhile he was sending abroad other heralds to his own tributary cities which lay upon the sea-coast, and he bade them have ships of war built and also vessels to carry horses.

They then were engaged in preparing these things; and meanwhile when the heralds had come to Hellas, many of those who dwelt upon the mainland gave that for which the Persian made demand, and all those who dwelt in the islands did so, to whomsoever they came to make their demand. The islanders, I say, gave earth and water to Dareios, and among them also those of Egina, and when these had done so, the Athenians went forthwith urgent against them, supposing that the Eginetans had given with hostile purpose against themselves, in order to make an expedition against them in combination with the Persians; and also they were glad to get hold of an occasion against them. Accordingly they went backward and



forwards to Sparta and accused the Eginetans of that which they had done, as having proved themselves traitors to Hellas.

In consequence of this accusation Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides, king of the Spartans, crossed over to Egina meaning to seize those of the Eginetans who were the most guilty; but as he was attempting to seize them, certain of the Eginetans opposed him, and among them especially Crios the son of Polycritos, who said that he should not with impunity carry off a single Eginetan, for he was doing this (said he) without authority from the Spartan State, having been persuaded to it by the Athenians with money; otherwise he would have come and seized them in company with the other king: and this he said by reason of a message received from Demaratos. Cleomenes then as he departed from Egina, asked Crios what was his name, and he told him the truth; and Cleomenes said to him: "Surely now, O Ram, thou must cover over thy horns with bronze for thou wilt shortly have a great trouble to contend with."

Meanwhile Demaratos the son of Ariston was staying behind in Sparta and bringing charges against Cleomenes, he also being king of the Spartans but of the inferior house; which however is inferior in no other way (for it is descended from the same ancestor), but the house of Eurysthenes has always been honoured more, apparently because he was the elder brother.. For the Lacedemonians, who herein agree with none of the poets, say that Aristodemos the son of Aristomachos, the son of Cleodaïos, the son of Hyllos, being their king, led them himself (and not the sons of Aristodemos) to this land which they now possess.

Then after no long time the wife of Aristodemos, whose name was Argeia—she was the daughter, they say, of Autesion, the son of Tisamenes, the son of Thersander, the son of Polyneikes—she, it is said, brought forth twins; and Aristodemos lived but to see his children and then ended his life by sickness. So the Lacedemonians of that time resolved according to established custom to make the elder of the children their king; but they did not know which of them they should take, because they were like one another and of equal size; and when they were not able to make out, or even before this, they inquired of their mother; and she said that even she herself did not know one from the other. She said this, although she knew in truth very well, because she desired that by some means both might be made kings. The Lacedemonians then were in a strait; and being in a strait they sent to Delphi to inquire what they should

do in the matter. and the Pythian prophetess bade them regard both children as their kings, but honour most the first in age.

The prophetess, they say, thus gave answer to them; and when the Lacedemonians were at a loss none the less how to find out the elder of them, a Messenian whose name was Panites made a suggestion to them: this Panites, I say, suggested to the Lacedemonians that they should watch the mother and see which of the children she washed and fed before the other; and if she was seen to do this always in the same order, then they would have all that they were seeking and desiring to find out, but if she too was uncertain and did it in a different order at different times, it would be plain to them that even she had no more knowledge than any other, and they must turn to some other way.

Then the Spartans following the suggestion of the Messenian watched the mother of the sons of Aristodemos and found that she gave honour thus to the first-born both in feeding and in washing; for she did not know with that design she was being watched.

They took therefore the child which was honoured by its mother and brought it up as the first-born in the public hall, and to it was given the name of Eurysthenes, while the other was called Procles. These, when they had grown up, both themselves were at variance, they say, with one another, though they were brothers, throughout the whole time of their lives, and their descendants also continued after the same manner.

This is the report given by the Lacedemonians alone of all the Hellenes; but this which follows I write in accordance with that which is reported by the Hellenes generally,—I mean that the names of these kings of the Dorians are rightly enumerated by the Hellenes up to Perseus the son of Danae (leaving the god out of account), and proved to be of Hellenic race; for even from that time they were reckoned as Hellenes. I said "up to Perseus" and did not take the descent from a yet higher point, because there is no name mentioned of a mortal father for Perseus, as Amphitryon is for Heracles. Therefore with reason, as is evident, I have said "rightly up to Perseus"; but if one enumerates their ancestors in succession going back from Danae the daughter of Acrisios, the rulers of the Dorians will prove to be Egyptians by direct descent.

Thus I have traced the descent according to the account given by the Hellenes; but as the story is reported which the Persians tell, Perseus

himself was an Assyrian and became a Hellene, whereas the ancestors of Perseus were not Hellenes; and as for the ancestors of Acrisios, who (according to this account) belonged not to Perseus in any way by kinship, they say that these were, as the Hellenes report, Egyptians. Let it suffice to have said so much about these matters; and as to the question how and by what exploits being Egyptians they received the sceptres of royalty over the Dorians, we will omit these things, since others have told about them; but the things with which other narrators have not dealt, of these I will make mention.

These are the royal rights which have been given by the Spartans to their kings, namely, two priesthoods, of Zeus Lakedaimon and Zeus Uranios; and the right of making war against whatsoever land they please, and that no man of the Spartans shall hinder this right, or if he do, he shall be subject to the curse; and that when they go on expeditions the kings shall go out first and return last; that a hundred picked men shall be their guard upon expeditions; and that they shall use in their goings forth to war as many cattle as they desire, and take both the hides and the backs of all that are sacrificed.

These are their privileges in war; and in peace moreover things have been assigned to them as follows: if any sacrifice is performed at the public charge, it is the privilege of the kings to sit down at the feast before all others, and that the attendants shall begin with them first, and serve to each of them a portion of everything double of that which is given to the other guests, and that they shall have the first pouring of libations and the hides of the animals slain in sacrifice; that on every new moon and seventh day of the month there shall be delivered at the public charge to each one of these a full-grown victim in the temple of Apollo, and a measure of barley-groats and a Laconian "quarter" of wine; and that at all the games they shall have seats of honour specially set apart for them: moreover it is their privilege to appoint as protectors of strangers whomsoever they will of the citizens, and to choose each two "Pythians:" now the Pythians are men sent to consult the god at Delphi, and they eat with the kings at the public charge. And if the kings do not come to the dinner, it is the rule that there shall be sent out for them to their houses two quarts of barley-groats for each one and half a pint of wine; but if they are present, double shares of everything shall be given them, and moreover they shall be honoured in this same manner when they have been invited to dinner by private persons. The kings also, it is ordained, shall have charge of the oracles which are given, but the Pythians also shall have knowledge of them. It is

the rule moreover that the kings alone give decision on the following cases only, that is to say, about the maiden who inherits her father's property, namely who ought to have her, if her father have not betrothed her to any one, and about public ways; also if any man desires to adopt a son, he must do it in presence of the kings: and it is ordained that they shall sit in council with the Senators, who are in number eight-and-twenty, and if they do not come, those of the Senators who are most closely related to them shall have the privileges of the kings and give two votes besides their own, making three in all.

These rights have been assigned to the kings for their lifetime by the Spartan State; and after they are dead these which follow:—horsemen go round and announce that which has happened throughout the whole of the Laconian land, and in the city women go about and strike upon a copper kettle. Whenever this happens so, two free persons of each household must go into mourning, a man and a woman, and for those who fail to do this great penalties are appointed. Now the custom of the Lacedemonians about the deaths of their kings is the same as that of the Barbarians who dwell in Asia, for most of the Barbarians practise the same customs as regards the death of their kings.

Whensoever a king of the Lacedemonians is dead, then from the whole territory of Lacedemon, not reckoning the Spartans, a certain fixed number of the "dwellers round" are compelled to go to the funeral ceremony and when there have been gathered together of these and of the Helots and of the Spartans themselves many thousands in the same place, with their women intermingled, they beat their foreheads with a good will and make lamentation without stint, saying that this one who has died last of their kings was the best of all: and whenever any of their kings has been killed in war, they prepare an image to represent him, laid upon a couch with fair coverings, and carry it out to be buried.

Then after they have buried him, no assembly is held among them for ten days, nor is there any meeting for choice of magistrates, but they have mourning during these days. In another respect too these resemble the Persians; that is to say, when the king is dead and another is appointed king, this king who is newly coming in sets free any man of the Spartans who was a debtor to the king or to the State; while among the Persians the king who comes to the throne remits to all the cities the arrears of tribute which are due. In the following point also the Lacedemonians resemble the Egyptians; that is to say, their heralds and fluteplayers and cooks inherit

the crafts of their fathers, and a fluteplayer is the son of a fluteplayer, a cook of a cook, and a herald of a herald; other men do not lay hands upon the office because they have loud and clear voices, and so shut them out of it, but they practise their craft by inheritance from their fathers.

Thus are these things done: and at this time of which we speak, while Cleomenes was in Egina doing deeds which were for the common service of Hellas, Demaratos brought charges against him, not so much because he cared for the Eginetans as because he felt envy and jealousy of him. Then Cleomenes, after he returned from Egina, planned to depose Demaratos from being king, making an attempt upon him on account of this matter which follows: Ariston being king in Sparta and having married two wives, yet had no children born to him; and since he did not acknowledge that he himself was the cause of this, he married a third wife; and he married her thus:—he had a friend, a man of the Spartans, to whom of all the citizens Ariston was most inclined; and it chanced that this man had a wife who was of all the women in Sparta the fairest by far, and one too who had become the fairest from having been the foulest.

For as she was mean in her aspect, her nurse, considering that she was the daughter of wealthy persons and was of uncomely aspect, and seeing moreover that her parents were troubled by it, perceiving I say these things, her nurse devised as follows: every day she bore her to the temple of Helen, which is in the place called Therapne, lying above the temple of Phoebus; and whenever the nurse bore her thither, she placed her before the image and prayed the goddess to deliver the child from her unshapeliness. And once as the nurse was going away out of the temple, it is said that a woman appeared to her, and having appeared asked her what she was bearing in her arms; and she told her that she was bearing a child; upon which the other bade her show the child to her, but she refused, for it had been forbidden to her by the parents to show it to any one: but the woman continued to urge her by all means to show it to her. So then perceiving that the woman earnestly desired to see it, the nurse showed her the child. Then the woman stroking the head of the child said that she should be the fairest of all the women in Sparta; and from that day her aspect was changed. Afterwards when she came to the age for marriage, she was married to Agetos the son of Alkeides, this friend of Ariston of whom we spoke.

Now Ariston it seems was ever stung by the desire of this woman, and accordingly he contrived as follows:—he made an engagement himself

with his comrade, whose wife this woman was, that he would give him as a gift one thing of his own possessions, whatsoever he should choose, and he bade his comrade make return to him in similar fashion. He therefore, fearing nothing for his wife, because he saw that Ariston also had a wife, agreed to this; and on these terms they imposed oaths on one another. After this Ariston on his part gave that which Agetos had chosen from the treasures of Ariston, whatever the thing was; and he himself, seeking to obtain from him the like return, endeavoured then to take away the wife of his comrade from him: and he said that he consented to give anything else except this one thing only, but at length being compelled by the oath and by the treacherous deception, he allowed her to be taken away from him..

Thus had Ariston brought into his house the third wife, having dismissed the second: and this wife, not having fulfilled the ten months but in a shorter period of time, bore him that Demaratos of whom we were speaking; and one of his servants reported to him as he was sitting in council with the Ephors, that a son had been born to him. He then, knowing the time when he took to him his wife, and reckoning the months upon his fingers, said, denying with an oath, "The child would not be mine." This the Ephors heard, but they thought it a matter of no importance at the moment; and the child grew up and Ariston repented of that which he had said, for he thought Demaratos was certainly his own son; and he gave him the name "Demaratos" for this reason, namely because before these things took place the Spartan people all in a body had made a vow praying that a son might be born to Ariston, as one who was pre-eminent in renown over all the kings who had ever arisen in Sparta.

For this reason the name Demaratos was given to him. And as time went on Ariston died, and Demaratos obtained the kingdom: but it was fated apparently that these things should become known and should cause Demaratos to be deposed from the kingdom; and therefore Demaratos came to be at variance greatly with Cleomenes both at the former time when he withdrew his army from Eleusis, and also now especially, when Cleomenes had crossed over to take those of the Eginetans who had gone over to the Medes.

Cleomenes then, being anxious to take vengeance on him, concerted matters with Leotychides the son of Menares, the son of Agis, who was of the same house as Demaratos, under condition that if he should set him up as king instead of Demaratos, he would go with him against the Eginetans.

Now Leotychides had become a bitter foe of Demaratos on account of this matter which follows:—Leotychides had betrothed himself to Percalos the daughter of Chilon son of Demarmenos; and Demaratos plotted against him and deprived Leotychides of his marriage, carrying off Percalos himself beforehand, and getting her for his wife. Thus had arisen the enmity of Leotychides against Demaratos; and now by the instigation of Cleomenes Leotychides deposed against Demaratos, saying that he was not rightfully reigning over the Spartans, not being a son of Ariston: and after this deposition he prosecuted a suit against him, recalling the old saying which Ariston uttered at the time when his servant reported to him that a son was born to him, and he reckoning up the months denied with an oath, saying that it was not his. Taking his stand upon this utterance, Leotychides proceeded to prove that Demaratos was not born of Ariston nor was rightfully reigning over Sparta; and he produced as witnesses those Ephors who chanced then to have been sitting with Ariston in council and to have heard him say this..

At last, as there was contention about those matters, the Spartans resolved to ask the Oracle at Delphi whether Demaratos was the son of Ariston. The question then having been referred by the arrangement of Cleomenes to the Pythian prophetess, thereupon Cleomenes gained over to his side Cobon the son of Aristophantos, who had most power among the Delphians, and Cobin persuaded Perialla the prophetess of the Oracle to say that which Cleomenes desired to have said. Thus the Pythian prophetess, when those who were sent to consult the god asked her their question, gave decision that Demaratos was not the son of Ariston. Afterwards however these things became known, and both Cobon went into exile from Delphi and Perialla the prophetess of the Oracle was removed from her office.

With regard to the deposing of Demaratos from the kingdom it happened thus: but Demaratos became an exile from Sparta to the Medes on account of a reproach which here follows:—After he had been deposed from the kingdom Demaratos was holding a public office to which he had been elected. Now it was the time of the Gymnopaidiai; and as Demaratos was a spectator of them, Leotychides, who had now become king himself instead of Demaratos, sent his attendant and asked Demaratos in mockery and insult what kind of a thing it was to be a magistrate after having been king; and he vexed at the question made answer and said that he himself had now had experience of both, but Leotychides had not; this question however, he said, would be the beginning either of countless evil or

countless good fortune for the Lacedemonians. Having thus said, he veiled his head and went forth out of the theatre to his own house; and forthwith he made preparations and sacrificed an ox to Zeus, and after having sacrificed he called his mother.

Then when his mother had come, he put into her hands some of the inner parts of the victim, and besought her, saying as follows: "Mother, I beseech thee, appealing to the other gods and above all to this Zeus the guardian of the household, to tell me the truth, who is really and truly my father. For Leotychides spoke in his contention with me, saying that thou didst come to Ariston with child by thy former husband; and others besides, reporting that which is doubtless an idle tale, say that thou didst go in to one of the servants, namely the keeper of the asses, and that I am his son. I therefore entreat thee by the gods to tell me the truth; for if thou hast done any of these things which are reported, thou hast not done them alone, but with many other women; and the report is commonly believed in Sparta that there was not in Ariston seed which should beget children; for if so, then his former wives also would have borne children."

Thus he spoke, and she made answer as follows: "My son, since thou dost beseech me with entreaties to speak the truth, the whole truth shall be told to thee. When Ariston had brought me into his house, on the third night there came to me an apparition in the likeness of Ariston, and having lain with me it put upon me the garlands which it had on; and the apparition straitway departed, and after this Ariston came; and when he saw me with garlands, he asked who it was who had given me them; and I said that he had given them, but he did not admit it; and I began to take oath of it, saying that he did not well to deny it, for he had come (I said) a short time before and had lain with me and given me the garlands.

Then Ariston, seeing that I made oath of it, perceived that the matter was of the gods; and first the garlands were found to be from the hero-temple which stands by the outer door of the house, which they call the temple of Astrabacos, and secondly the diviners gave answer that it was this same hero. Thus, my son, thou hast all, as much as thou desirest to learn; for either thou art begotten of this hero and the hero Astrabacos is thy father, or Ariston is thy father, for on that night I conceived thee: but as to that wherein thy foes most take hold of thee, saying that Ariston himself, when thy birth was announced to him, in the hearing of many declared that thou wert not his son, because the time, the ten months namely, had not yet been fulfilled, in ignorance of such matters he cast forth that saying; for



women bring forth children both at the ninth month and also at the seventh, and not all after they have completed ten months; and I bore thee, my son, at the seventh month: and Ariston himself also perceived after no long time that he had uttered this saying in folly.

Do not thou then accept any other reports about thy begetting, for thou hast heard in all the full truth; but to Leotychides and to those who report these things may their wives bear children by keepers of asses!"

Thus she spoke; and he, having learnt that which he desired to learn, took supplies for travelling and set forth to go to Elis, pretending that he was going to Delphi to consult the Oracle: but the Lacedemonians, suspecting that he was attempting to escape, pursued after him; and it chanced that before they came Demaratos had passed over to Zakynthos from Elis; and the Lacedemonians crossing over after him laid hands on his person and carried away his attendants from him. Afterwards however, since those of Zakynthos refused to give him up, he passed over from thence to Asia, to the presence of king Dareios; and Dareios both received him with great honour as a guest, and also gave him land and cities. Thus Demaratos had come to Asia, and such was the fortune which he had had, having been distinguished in the estimation of the Lacedemonians in many other ways both by deeds and by counsels, and especially having gained for them an Olympic victory with the four-horse chariot, being the only one who achieved this of all the kings who ever arose in Sparta.

Demaratos being deposed, Leotychides the son of Menares succeeded to the kingdom; and he had born to him a son Zeuxidemos, whom some of the Spartans called Kyniscos. This Zeuxidemos did not become king of Sparta, for he died before Leotychides, leaving a son Archidemos: and Leotychides having lost Zeuxidemos married a second wife Eurydame, the sister of Menios and daughter of Diactorides, by whom he had no male issue, but a daughter Lampito, whom Archidemos the son of Zeuxidemos took in marriage, she being given to him by Leotychides.

Leotychides however did not himself live to old age in Sparta, but paid a retribution for Demaratos as follows:—he went as commander of the Lacedemonians to invade Thessaly, and when he might have reduced all to subjection, he accepted gifts of money amounting to a large sum; and being taken in the act there in the camp, as he was sitting upon a glove full of money, he was brought to trial and banished from Sparta, and his house

was razed to the ground. So he went into exile to Tegea and ended his life there.

These things happened later; but at this time, when Cleomenes had brought to a successful issue the affair which concerned Demaratos, forthwith he took with him Leotychides and went against the Eginetans, being very greatly enraged with them because of their insults towards him. So the Eginetans on their part, since both the kings had come against them, thought fit no longer to resist; and the Spartans selected ten men who were the most considerable among the Eginetans both by wealth and by birth, and took them away as prisoners, and among others also Crios the son of Polycritos and Casambos the son of Aristocrates, who had the greatest power among them; and having taken these away to the land of Attica, they deposited them as a charge with the Athenians, who were the bitterest enemies of the Eginetans.

After this Cleomenes, since it had become known that he had devised evil against Demaratos, was seized by fear of the Spartans and retired to Thessaly. Thence he came to Arcadia, and began to make mischief and to combine the Arcadians against Sparta; and besides other oaths with which he caused them to swear that they would assuredly follow him whithersoever he should lead them, he was very desirous also to bring the chiefs of the Arcadians to the city of Nonacris and cause them to swear by the water of Styx; for near this city it is said by the Arcadians that there is the water of Styx, and there is in fact something of this kind: a small stream of water is seen to trickle down from a rock into a hollow ravine, and round the ravine runs a wall of rough stones. Now Nonacris, where it happens that this spring is situated, is a city of Arcadia near Pheneos.

The Lacedemonians, hearing that Cleomenes was acting thus, were afraid, and proceeded to bring him back to Sparta to rule on the same terms as before: but when he had come back, forthwith a disease of madness seized him (who had been even before this somewhat insane), and whenever he met any of the Spartans, he dashed his staff against the man's face. And as he continued to do this and had gone quite out of his senses, his kinsmen bound him in stocks. Then being so bound, and seeing his warder left alone by the rest, he asked him for a knife; and the warder not being at first willing to give it, he threatened him with that which he would do to him afterwards if he did not; until at last the warder fearing the threats, for he was one of the Helots, gave him a knife.

Then Cleomenes, when he had received the steel, began to maltreat himself from the legs upwards: for he went on cutting his flesh lengthways from the legs to the thighs and from the thighs to the loins and flanks, until at last he came to the belly; and cutting this into strips he died in that manner. And this happened, as most of the Hellenes report, because he persuaded the Pythian prophetess to advise that which was done about Demaratos; but as the Athenians alone report, it was because when he invaded Eleusis he laid waste the sacred enclosure of the goddesses; and according to the report of the Argives, because from their sanctuary dedicated to Argos he caused to come down those of the Argives who had fled for refuge from the battle and slew them, and also set fire to the grove itself, holding it in no regard..

For when Cleomenes was consulting the Oracle at Delphi, the answer was given him that he should conquer Argos; so he led the Spartans and came to the river Erasinos, which is said to flow from the Stymphalian lake; for this lake, they say, running out into a viewless chasm, appears again above ground in the land of Argos; and from thence onwards this water is called by the Argives Erasinos: having come, I say, to this river, Cleomenes did sacrifice to it; and since the sacrifices were not at all favourable for him to cross over, he said that he admired the Erasinos for not betraying the men of its country, but the Argives should not even so escape. After this he retired back from thence and led his army down to Thyrea; and having done sacrifice to the Sea by slaying a bull, he brought them in ships to the land of Tiryns and Nauplia.

Being informed of this, the Argives came to the rescue towards the sea; and when they had got near Tiryns and were at the place which is called Hesipeia, they encamped opposite to the Lacedemonians leaving no very wide space between the armies. There the Argives were not afraid of the open fighting, but only lest they should be conquered by craft; for to this they thought referred the oracle which the Pythian prophetess gave in common to these and to the Milesians, saying as follows:

“But when the female at length shall conquer the male in the battle,  
Conquer and drive him forth, and glory shall gain among Argives,  
Then many wives of the Argives shall tear both cheeks in their mourning;  
So that a man shall say some time, of the men that came after,  
*“Quelled by the spear it perished, the three-coiled terrible serpent”*

The conjunction of all these things caused fear to the Argives, and with a view to this they resolved to make use of the enemy's herald; and having

so resolved they proceeded to do as follows:—whenever the Spartan herald proclaimed anything to the Lacedemonians, the Argives also did that same thing.

So Cleomenes, perceiving that the Argives were doing whatever the herald of the Lacedemonians proclaimed, passed the word to the Lacedemonians that when the herald should proclaim that they were to get breakfast, then they should take up their arms and go to attack the Argives. This was carried out even so by the Lacedemonians; for as the Argives were getting breakfast according to the herald's proclamation, they attacked them; and many of them they slew, but many more yet took refuge in the sacred grove of Argos, and upon these they kept watch, sitting round about the place. Then Cleomenes did this which follows:

He had with him deserters, and getting information by inquiring of these, he sent a herald and summoned forth those of the Argives who were shut up in the sanctuary, mentioning each by name; and he summoned them forth saying that he had received their ransom. Now among the Peloponnesians ransom is two pounds weight of silver appointed to be paid for each prisoner. So Cleomenes summoned forth about fifty of the Argives one by one and slew them; and it chanced that the rest who were in the enclosure did not perceive that this was being done; for since the grove was thick, those within did not see how it fared with those who were without, at least until one of them climbed up a tree and saw from above that which was being done. Accordingly they then no longer came forth when they were called.

So Cleomenes thereupon ordered all the Helots to pile up brushwood round the sacred grove; and they obeying, he set fire to the grove. And when it was now burning, he asked one of the deserters to what god the grove was sacred, and the man replied that it was sacred to Argos. When he heard that, he groaned aloud and said, "Apollo who utterest oracles, surely thou hast greatly deceived me, saying that I should conquer Argos: I conjecture that the oracle has had its fulfilment for me already."

After this Cleomenes sent away the greater part of his army to go back to Sparta, but he himself took a thousand of the best men and went to the temple of Hera to sacrifice: and when he wished to sacrifice upon the altar, the priest forbade him, saying that it was not permitted by religious rule for a stranger to sacrifice in that place. Cleomenes however bade the Helots take away the priest from the altar and scourge him, and he himself

offered the sacrifice. Having so done he returned back to Sparta; and after his return his opponents brought him up before the Ephors, saying that he had received gifts and therefore had not conquered Argos, when he might easily have conquered it.

He said to them, but whether he was speaking falsely or whether truly I am not able with certainty to say, however that may be, he spoke and said that when he had conquered the sanctuary of Argos, it seemed to him that the oracle of the god had had its fulfilment for him; therefore he did not think it right to make an attempt on the city, at least until he should have had recourse to sacrifice, and should have learnt whether the deity permitted him or whether she stood opposed to him: and as he was sacrificing for augury in the temple of Hera, a flame of fire blazed forth from the breasts of the image; and thus he knew the certainty of the matter, namely that he would not conquer Argos: for if fire had blazed forth from the head of the image, he would have been conqueror of the city from top to bottom but since it blazed from the breasts, everything had been accomplished for him which the god desired should come to pass. Thus speaking he seemed to the Spartans to speak credibly and reasonably, and he easily escaped his pursuers.

Argos however was so bereft of men that their slaves took possession of all the State, ruling and managing it until the sons of those who had perished grew to be men. Then these, endeavouring to gain Argos back to themselves, cast them out; and the slaves being driven forth gained possession of Tiryns by fighting. Now for a time these two parties had friendly relations with one another; but afterwards there came to the slaves a prophet named Cleander, by race a Phigalian from Arcadia: this man persuaded the slaves to attack their masters, and in consequence of this there was war between them for a long time, until at last with difficulty the Argives overcame them.

The Argives then say that this was the reason why Cleomenes went mad and had an evil end: but the Spartans themselves say that Cleomenes was not driven mad by any divine power, but that he had become a drinker of unmixed wine from having associated with Scythians, and that he went mad in consequence of this: for the nomad Scythians, they say, when Dareios had made invasion of their land, desired eagerly after this to take vengeance upon him; and they sent to Sparta and tried to make an alliance, and to arrange that while the Scythians themselves attempted an invasion of Media by the way of the river Phasis, the Spartans should set forth from

Ephesos and go up inland, and then that they should meet in one place: and they say that Cleomenes when the Scythians had come for this purpose, associated with them largely, and that thus associating more than was fit, he learnt the practice of drinking wine unmixed with water; and for this cause (as the Spartans think) he went mad. Thenceforth, as they say themselves, when they desire to drink stronger wine, they say "Fill up in Scythian fashion." Thus the Spartans report about Cleomenes; but to me it seems that this was a retribution which Cleomenes paid for Demaratos.

Now when the Eginetans heard that Cleomenes had met his end, they sent messengers to Sparta to denounce Leotychides for the matter of the hostages which were being kept at Athens: and the Lacedemonians caused a court to assemble and judged that the Eginetans had been dealt with outrageously by Leotychides; and they condemned him to be taken to Egina and delivered up in place of the men who were being kept at Athens. Then when the Eginetans were about to take Leotychides, Theasides the son of Leoprepes, a man of repute in Sparta, said to them: "What are ye proposing to do, men of Egina? Do ye mean to take away the king of the Spartans, thus delivered up to you by his fellow-citizens? If the Spartans now being in anger have decided so, beware lest at some future time, if ye do this, they bring an evil upon your land which may destroy it." Hearing this the Eginetans abstained from taking him; but they came to an agreement that Leotychides should accompany them to Athens and restore the men to the Eginetans.

When however Leotychides came to Athens and asked for the deposit back, the Athenians, not being willing to give up the hostages, produced pretexts for refusing, and alleged that two kings had deposited them and they did not think it right to give them back to the one without the other: so since the Athenians said that they would not give them back, Leotychides spoke to them as follows:

(a) "Athenians, do whichever thing ye yourselves desire; for ye know that if ye give them up, ye do that which religion commands, and if ye refuse to give them up, ye do the opposite of this: but I desire to tell you what kind of a thing came to pass once in Sparta about a deposit. We Spartans report that there was in Lacedemon about two generations before my time on Glaucos the son of Epikydes. This man we say attained the highest merit in all things besides, and especially he was well reported of by all who at that time dwelt in Lacedemon for his uprightness: and we relate that in due time it happened to him thus:—a man of Miletos came to

Sparta and desired to have speech with him, alleging the reasons which follow: 'I am a Milesian,' he said, 'and I am come hither desiring to have benefit from thy uprightness, Glaucos; for as there was much report of thy uprightness throughout all the rest of Hellas and also in Ionia, I considered with myself that Ionia is ever in danger, whereas Peloponnesus is safely established, and also that we never see wealth continue in the possession of the same persons long;—reflecting, I say, on these things and taking counsel with myself, I resolved to turn into money the half of my possessions, and to place it with thee, being well assured that if it were placed with thee I should have it safe. Do thou therefore, I pray thee, receive the money, and take and keep these tallies; and whosoever shall ask for the money back having the tokens answering to these, to him do thou restore it.'

(b) The stranger who had come from Miletos said so much; and Glaucos accepted the deposit on the terms proposed. Then after a long time had gone by, there came to Sparta the sons of him who had deposited the money with Glaucos; and they came to speech with Glaucos, and producing the tokens asked for the money to be given back: but he repulsed them answering them again thus:

'I do not remember the matter, nor does my mind bring back to me any knowledge of those things whereof ye speak; but I desire to recollect and do all that is just; for if I received it, I desire to restore it honestly; and if on the other hand I did not receive it at all, I will act towards you in accordance with the customs of the Hellenes: therefore I defer the settling of the matter with you for three months from now.' (c) The Milesians accordingly went away grieved, for they supposed that they had been robbed of the money; but Glaucos set forth to Delphi to consult the Oracle: and when he inquired of the Oracle whether he should rob them of the money by an oath, the Pythian prophetess rebuked him with these lines:

"Glaucos, thou, Epikydes' son, yea, this for the moment,  
This, to conquer their word by an oath and to rob, is more gainful.  
Swear, since the lot of death waits also for him who swears truly.  
But know thou that Oath has a son, one nameless and handless and  
footless, Yet without feet he pursues, without hands he seizes, and wholly  
He shall destroy the race and the house of the man who offendeth.  
But for the man who swears truly his race is the better hereafter."

Having heard this Glaucos entreated that the god would pardon him for that which he had said, but the prophetess said that to make trial of the god

and to do the deed were things equivalent. (d) Glaucos then, having sent for the Milesians, gave back to them the money: but the reason for which, O Athenians, I set forth to relate to you this story, shall now be told. At the present time there is no descendant of Glaucos existing, nor any hearth which is esteemed to be that of Glaucos, but he has been utterly destroyed and rooted up out of Sparta. Thus it is good not even to entertain a thought about a deposit other than that of restoring it, when they who made it ask for it again."

When Leotyichides had thus spoken, since not even so were the Athenians willing to listen to him, he departed back; and the Eginetans, before paying the penalty for their former wrongs wherein they did outrage to the Athenians to please the Thebans, acted as follows:—complaining of the conduct of the Athenians and thinking that they were being wronged, they made preparations to avenge themselves upon the Athenians; and since the Athenians were celebrating a four-yearly festival at Sunion, they lay in wait for the sacred ship which was sent to it and took it, the vessel being full of men who were the first among the Athenians; and having taken it they laid the men in bonds.

The Athenians after they had suffered this wrong from the Eginetans no longer delayed to contrive all things possible to their hurt. And there was in Egina a man of repute, one Nicodromos the son of Cnithos: this man had cause of complaint against the Eginetans for having before this driven him forth out of the island; and hearing now that the Athenians had resolved to do mischief to the Eginetans, he agreed with the Athenians to deliver up Egina to them, telling them on what day he would make his attempt and by what day it would be necessary for them to come to his assistance.

After this Nicodromos, according as he had agreed with the Athenians, seized that which is called the old city, but the Athenians did not come to his support at the proper time; for, as it chanced, they had not ships sufficient to fight with the Eginetans; so while they were asking the Corinthians to lend them ships, during this time their cause went to ruin. The Corinthians however, being at this time exceedingly friendly with them, gave the Athenians twenty ships at their request; and these they gave by selling them at five drachmas apiece, for by the law it was not permitted to give them as a free gift. Having taken these ships of which I speak and also their own, the Athenians with seventy ships manned in all sailed to Egina, and they were later by one day than the time agreed.



Nicodromos meanwhile, as the Athenians did not come to his support at the proper time, embarked in a ship and escaped from Egina, and with him also went others of the Eginetans; and the Athenians gave them Sunion to dwell in, starting from whence these men continued to plunder the Eginetans who were in the island. This happened afterwards: but at the time of which we speak the well-to-do class among the Eginetans prevailed over the men of the people, who had risen against them in combination with Nicodromos, and then having got them into their power they were bringing their prisoners forth to execution.

From this there came upon them a curse which they were not able to expiate by sacrifice, though they devised against it all they could; but they were driven forth from the island before the goddess became propitious to them. For they had taken as prisoners seven hundred of the men of the people and were bringing them forth to execution, when one of them escaped from his bonds and fled for refuge to the entrance of the temple of Demeter the Giver of Laws, and he took hold of the latch of the door and clung to it; and when they found that they could not drag him from it by pulling him away, they cut off his hands and so carried him off, and those hands remained clinging to the latch of the door..

Thus did the Eginetans to one another: and when the Athenians came, they fought against them with seventy ships, and being worsted in the sea-fight they called to their assistance the same whom they had summoned before, namely the Argives. These would no longer come to their help, having cause of complaint because the ships of Egina compelled by Cleomenes had put in to the land of Argos and their crews had landed with the Lacedemonians; with whom also had landed men from ships of Sikyon in this same invasion: and as a penalty for this there was laid upon them by the Argives a fine of a thousand talents, five hundred for each State.

The Sikyonians accordingly, acknowledging that they had committed a wrong, had made an agreement to pay a hundred talents and be free from the penalty; the Eginetans however did not acknowledge their wrong, but were more stubborn. For this reason then, when they made request, none of the Argives now came to their help at the charge of the State, but volunteers came to the number of a thousand; and their leader was a commander named Eurybates, a man who had practised the five contests of these men the greater number never returned back, but were slain by the Athenians in Egina; and the commander himself, Eurybates, fighting in single combat killed in this manner three men and was himself slain by

the fourth, Sophanes namely of Dekeleia. The Eginetans however engaged in contest with the Athenians in ships, when these were in disorder, and defeated them; and they took of them four ships together with their crews.

So the Athenians were at war with the Eginetans; and meanwhile the Persian was carrying forward his design, since he was put in mind ever by his servant to remember the Athenians, and also because of the sons of Peisistratos were near at hand and brought charges continually against the Athenians, while at the same time Dareios himself wished to take hold of this pretext and subdue those nations of Hellas which had not given him earth and water. Mardonios then, since he had fared miserably in his expedition, he removed from his command; and appointing other generals to command he despatched them against Eretria and Athens, namely Datis, who was a Mede by race, and Artaphrenes the son of Artaphrenes, a nephew of the king; and he sent them forth with the charge to reduce Athens and Eretria to slavery and to bring the slaves back into his presence.

When these who had been appointed to command came in their march from the king to the Aleian plain in Kilikia, taking with them a large and well-equipped land-army, then while they were encamping there, the whole naval armament came up, which had been appointed for several nations to furnish; and there came to them also the ships for carrying horses, which in the year before Dareios had ordered his tributaries to make ready. In these they placed their horses, and having embarked the land-army in the ships they sailed for Ionia with six hundred triremes. After this they did not keep their ships coasting along the mainland towards the Hellespont and Thrace, but they started from Samos and made their voyage by the Icarian Sea and between the islands; because, as I think, they feared more than all else the voyage round Athos, seeing that in the former year while making the passage by this way they had come to great disaster. Moreover also Naxos compelled them, since it had not been conquered at the former time.

And when they had arrived at Naxos, coming against it from the Icarian Sea (for it was against Naxos first that the Persians intended to make expedition, remembering the former events), the Naxians departed forthwith fleeing to the mountains, and did not await their attack; but the Persians made slaves of those of them whom they caught and set fire to both the temples and the town. Having so done they put out to sea to attack the other islands.

While these were doing thus, the Delians also had left Delos and fled away to Tenos; and when the armament was sailing in thither, Datis sailed on before and did not allow the ships to anchor at the island of Delos, but at Rhenaia on the other side of the channel; and he himself, having found out by inquiry where the men of Delos were, sent a herald and addressed them thus: "Holy men, why are ye fled away and departed, having judged of me that which is not convenient? for even I of myself have wisdom at least so far, and moreover it has been thus commanded me by the king, not to harm at all that land in which the two divinities were born, neither the land itself nor the inhabitants of it. Now therefore return to your own possessions and dwell in your island." Thus he proclaimed by a herald to the Delians; and after this he piled up and burned upon the altar three hundred talents' weight of frankincense.

Datis having done these things sailed away with his army to fight against Eretria first, taking with him both Ionians and Aiolians; and after he had put out to sea from thence, Delos was moved, not having been shaken (as the Delians reported to me) either before that time or since that down to my own time; and this no doubt the god manifested as a portent to men of the evils that were about to be; for in the time of Dareios the son of Hystaspes and Xerxes the son of Dareios and Artoxerxes the son of Xerxes, three generations following upon one another, there happened more evils to Hellas than during the twenty other generations which came before Dareios, some of the evils coming to it from the Persians, and others from the leaders themselves of Hellas warring together for supremacy. Thus it was not unreasonable that Delos should be moved, which was before unmoved. [And in an oracle it was thus written about it: *"Delos too will I move, unmoved though it hath been aforetime."*]

Now in the Hellenic tongue the names which have been mentioned have this meaning—Dareios means "compeller," Xerxes "warrior," Artoxerxes "great warrior." Thus then might the Hellenes rightly call these kings in their own tongue. The Barbarians then, when they had departed from Delos, touched at the islands as they went, and from them received additional forces and took sons of the islanders as hostages: and when in sailing round about the islands they put in also to Carystos, seeing that the Carystians would neither give them hostages nor consent to join in an expedition against cities that were their neighbours, meaning Eretria and Athens, they began to besiege them and to ravage their land; until at last the Carystians also came over to the will of the Persians.

The Eretrians meanwhile being informed that the armament of the Persians was sailing to attack them, requested the Athenians to help them; and the Athenians did not refuse their support, but gave as helpers those four thousand to whom had been allotted the land of the wealthy Chalkidians. The Eretrians however, as it turned out, had no sound plan of action, for while they sent for the Athenians, they had in their minds two different designs: some of them, that is, proposed to leave the city and go to the heights of Euboea; while others of them, expecting to win gain for themselves from the Persian, were preparing to surrender the place.

Having got knowledge of how things were as regards both these plans, Aischines the son of Nothos, one of the leaders of the Eretrians, told the whole condition of their affairs to those of the Athenians who had come, and entreated them to depart and go to their own land, that they might not also perish. So the Athenians did according to this counsel given to them by Aischines.

And while these passed over to Oropos and saved themselves, the Persians sailed on and brought their ships to land about Temenos and Chioreai and Aigilea in the Eretrian territory; and having taken possession of these places, forthwith they began to disembark their horses and prepared to advance against the enemy. The Eretrians however did not intend to come forth against them and fight; but their endeavour was if possible to hold out by defending their walls, since the counsel prevailed not to leave the city. Then a violent assault was made upon the wall, and for six days there fell many on both sides; but on the seventh day Euphorbos the son of Alkimachos and Philagros the son of Kyneos, men of repute among the citizens, gave up the city to the Persians. These having entered the city plundered and set fire to the temples in retribution for the temples which were burned at Sardis, and also reduced the people to slavery according to the commands of Dareios.

Having got Eretria into their power, they stayed a few days and then sailed for the land of Attica, pressing on hard and supposing that the Athenians would do the same as the Eretrians had done. And since Marathon was the most convenient place in Attica for horsemen to act and was also very near to Eretria, therefore Hippias the son of Peisistratos was guiding them thither. When the Athenians had information of this, they too went to Marathon to the rescue of their land; and they were led by ten generals, of whom the tenth was Miltiades, whose father Kimon of Stesagoras had been compelled to go into exile from Athens because of Peisistratos the

son of Hippocrates: and while he was in exile it was his fortune to win a victory at the Olympic games with a four-horse chariot, wherein, as it happened, he did the same thing as his half-brother Miltiades had done, who had the same mother as he. Then afterwards in the next succeeding Olympic games he gained a victory with the same mares and allowed Peisistratos to be proclaimed as victor; and having resigned to him the victory he returned to his own native land under an agreement for peace.

Then after he had won with the same mares at another Olympic festival, it was his hap to be slain by the sons of Peisistratos, Peisistratos himself being no longer alive. These killed him near the City Hall, having set men to lie in wait for him by night; and the burial-place of Kimon is in the outskirts of the city, on the other side of the road which is called the way through Coile, and just opposite him those mares are buried which won in three Olympic games. This same thing was done also by the mares belonging to Euagoras the Laconian, but besides these by none others. Now the elder of the sons of Kimon, Stesagoras, was at that time being brought up in the house of his father's brother Miltiades in the Chersonese, while the younger son was being brought up at Athens with Kimon himself, having been named Miltiades after Miltiades the settler of the Chersonese.

This Miltiades then at the time of which we speak had come from the Chersonese and was a general of the Athenians, after escaping death in two forms; for not only did the Phenicians, who had pursued after him as far as Imbros, endeavour earnestly to take him and bring him up to the presence of the king, but also after this, when he had escaped from these and had come to his own native land and seemed to be in safety from that time forth, his opponents, who had laid wait for him there, brought him up before a court and prosecuted him for his despotism in the Chersonese. Having escaped these also, he had then been appointed a general of the Athenians, being elected by the people.

First of all, while they were still in the city, the generals sent off to Sparta a herald, namely Pheidippides an Athenian and for the rest a runner of long day-courses and one who practised this as his profession. With this man, as Pheidippides himself said and as he made report to the Athenians, Pan chanced to meet by mount Parthenion, which is above Tegea; and calling aloud the name of Pheidippides, Pan bade him report to the Athenians and ask for what reason they had no care of him, though he was well disposed to the Athenians and had been serviceable to them on many

occasions before that time, and would be so also yet again. Believing that this tale was true, the Athenians, when their affairs had been now prosperously settled, established under the Acropolis a temple of Pan; and in consequence of this message they propitiate him with sacrifice offered every year and with a torch-race.

However at that time, the time namely when he said that Pan appeared to him, this Pheidippides having been sent by the generals was in Sparta on the next day after that on which he left the city of the Athenians; and when he had come to the magistrates he said: "Lacedemonians, the Athenians make request of you to come to their help and not to allow a city most anciently established among the Hellenes to fall into slavery by the means of Barbarians; for even now Eretria has been enslaved, and Hellas has become the weaker by a city of renown." He, as I say, reported to them that with which he had been charged, and it pleased them well to come to help the Athenians; but it was impossible for them to do so at once, since they did not desire to break their law; for it was the ninth day of the month, and on the ninth day they said they would not go forth, nor until the circle of the moon should be full.

These men were waiting for the full moon: and meanwhile Hippias the son of Peisistratos was guiding the Barbarians in to Marathon, after having seen on the night that was just past a vision in his sleep of this kind,—it seemed to Hippias that he lay with his own mother. He conjectured then from the dream that he should return to Athens and recover his rule, and then bring his life to an end in old age in his own land. From the dream, I say, he conjectured this; and after this, as he guided them in, first he disembarked the slaves from Eretria on the island belonging to the Styrians, called Aigleia; and then, as the ships came in to shore at Marathon, he moored them there, and after the Barbarians had come from their ships to land, he was engaged in disposing them in their places.

While he was ordering these things, it came upon him to sneeze and cough more violently than was his wont. Then since he was advanced in years, most of his teeth were shaken thereby, and one of these teeth he cast forth by the violence of the cough: and the tooth having fallen from him upon the sand, he was very desirous to find it; since however the tooth was not to be found when he searched, he groaned aloud and said to those who were by him: "This land is not ours, nor shall we be able to make it subject to us; but so much part in it as belonged to me the tooth possesses."

Hippias then conjectured that his vision had been thus fulfilled: and meanwhile, after the Athenians had been drawn up in the sacred enclosure of Heracles, there joined them the Plataians coming to their help in a body: for the Plataians had given themselves to the Athenians, and the Athenians before this time undertook many toils on behalf of them; and this was the manner in which they gave themselves:—Being oppressed by the Thebans, the Plataians at first desired to give themselves to Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides and to the Lacedemonians, who chanced to come thither; but these did not accept them, and said to them as follows: "We dwell too far off, and such support as ours would be to you but cold comfort; for ye might many times be reduced to slavery before any of us had information of it: but we counsel you rather to give yourselves to the Athenians, who are both neighbours and also not bad helpers."

Thus the Lacedemonians counselled, not so much on account of their goodwill to the Plataians as because they desired that the Athenians should have trouble by being involved in a conflict with the Boetians. The Lacedemonians, I say, thus counselled the men of Plataia; and they did not fail to follow their counsel, but when the Athenians were doing sacrifice to the twelve gods, they sat down as suppliants at the altar and so gave themselves. Then the Thebans having been informed of these things marched against the Plataians, and the Athenians came to their assistance: and as they were about to join battle, the Corinthians did not permit them to do so, but being by chance there, they reconciled their strife; and both parties having put the matter into their hands, they laid down boundaries for the land, with the condition that the Thebans should leave those of the Boeotians alone who did not desire to be reckoned with the other Boeotians.

The Corinthians having given this decision departed; but as the Athenians were going back, the Boeotians attacked them, and having attacked them they were worsted in the fight. Upon that the Athenians passed beyond the boundaries which the Corinthians had set to be for the Plataians, and they made the river Asopos itself to be the boundary of the Thebans towards the land of Plataia and towards the district of Hysiai. The Plataians then had given themselves to the Athenians in the manner which has been said, and at this time they came to Marathon to bring them help.

Now the opinions of the generals of the Athenians were divided, and the one party urged that they should not fight a battle, seeing that they were too few to fight with the army of the Medes, while the others, and among

them Miltiades, advised that they should do so: and when they were divided and the worse opinion was like to prevail, then, since he who had been chosen by lot to be polemarch of the Athenians had a vote in addition to the ten (for in old times the Athenians gave the polemarch an equal vote with the generals) and at that time the polemarch was Callimachos of the deme of Aphidnai, to him came Miltiades and said as follows: "With thee now it rests, Callimachos, either to bring Athens under slavery, or by making her free to leave behind thee for all the time that men shall live a memorial such as not even Harmodios and Aristogeiton have left.

For now the Athenians have come to a danger the greatest to which they have ever come since they were a people; and on the one hand, if they submit to the Medes, it is determined what they shall suffer, being delivered over to Hippias, while on the other hand, if this city shall gain the victory, it may become the first of the cities of Hellas. How this may happen and how it comes to thee of all men to have the decision of these matters, I am now about to tell. Of us the generals, who are ten in number, the opinions are divided, the one party urging that we fight a battle and the others that we do not fight. Now if we do not, I expect that some great spirit of discord will fall upon the minds of the Athenians and so shake them that they shall go over to the Medes; but if we fight a battle before any unsoundness appear in any part of the Athenian people, then we are able to gain the victory in the fight, if the gods grant equal conditions. These things then all belong to thee and depend on thee; for if thou attach thyself to my opinions, thou hast both a fatherland which is free and a native city which shall be the first among the cities of Hellas; but if thou choose the opinion of those who are earnest against fighting, thou shalt have the opposite of those good things of which I told thee."

Thus speaking Miltiades gained Callimachos to his side; and the opinion of the polemarch being added, it was thus determined to fight a battle. After this, those generals whose opinion was in favour of fighting, as the turn of each one of them to command for the day came round, gave over their command to Miltiades; and he, accepting it, would not however yet bring about a battle, until his own turn to command had come..

and when it came round to him, then the Athenians were drawn up for battle in the order which here follows

On the right wing the polemarch Callimachos was leader (for the custom of the Athenians then was this, that the polemarch should have the right wing); and he leading, next after him came the tribes in order as they were



numbered one after another, and last were drawn up the Plataians occupying the left wing: for ever since this battle, when the Athenians offer sacrifices in the solemn assemblies which are made at the four-yearly festivals, the herald of the Athenians prays thus, "that blessings may come to the Athenians and to the Plataians both." On this occasion however, when the Athenians were being drawn up at Marathon something of this kind was done:—their army being made equal in length of front to that of the Medes, came to draw up in the middle with a depth of but few ranks, and here their army was weakest, while each wing was strengthened with numbers..

And when they had been arranged in their places and the sacrifices proved favourable, then the Athenians were let go, and they set forth at a run to attack the Barbarians. Now the space between the armies was not less than eight furlongs: and the Persians seeing them advancing to the attack at a run, made preparations to receive them; and in their minds they charged the Athenians with madness which must be fatal, seeing that they were few and yet were pressing forwards at a run, having neither cavalry nor archers. Such was the thought of the Barbarians; but the Athenians when all in a body they had joined in combat with the Barbarians, fought in a memorable fashion: for they were the first of all the Hellenes about whom we know who went to attack the enemy at a run, and they were the first also who endured to face the Median garments and the men who wore them, whereas up to this time the very name of the Medes was to the Hellenes a terror to hear..

Now while they fought in Marathon, much time passed by; and in the centre of the army, where the Persians themselves and the Sacans were drawn up, the Barbarians were winning, here, I say, the Barbarians had broken the ranks of their opponents and were pursuing them inland, but on both wings the Athenians and the Plataians severally were winning the victory; and being victorious they left that part of the Barbarians which had been routed to fly without molestation, and bringing together the two wings they fought with those who had broken their centre, and the Athenians were victorious. So they followed after the Persians as they fled, slaughtering them, until they came to the sea; and then they called for fire and began to take hold of the ships..

In this part of the work was slain the polemarch Callimachos after having proved himself a good man, and also one of the generals, Stesilaos the son of Thrasylaos, was killed; and besides this Kynegeiros the son of

Euphorion while taking hold there of the ornament at the stern of a ship had his hand cut off with an axe and fell; and many others also of the Athenians who were men of note were killed.

Seven of the ships the Athenians got possession of in this manner, but with the rest the Barbarians pushed off from land, and after taking the captives from Eretria off the island where they had left them, they sailed round Sunion, purposing to arrive at the city before the Athenians. And an accusation became current among the Athenians to the effect that they formed this design by contrivance of the Alcmaionidai; for these, it was said, having concerted matters with the Persians, displayed to them a shield when they had now embarked in their ships.

These then, I say, were sailing round Sunion; and meanwhile the Athenians came to the rescue back to the city as speedily as they could, and they arrived there before the Barbarians came; and having arrived from the temple of Heracles at Marathon they encamped at another temple of Heracles, namely that which is in Kynosarges. The Barbarians however came and lay with their ships in the sea which is off Phaleron, (for this was then the seaport of the Athenians), they anchored their ships, I say, off this place, and then proceeded to sail back to Asia.

In this fight at Marathon there were slain of the Barbarians about six thousand four hundred men, and of the Athenians a hundred and ninety and two. Such was the number which fell on both sides; and it happened also that a marvel occurred there of this kind: an Athenian, Epizelos the son of Cuphagoras, while fighting in the close combat and proving himself a good man, was deprived of the sight of his eyes, neither having received a blow in any part of his body nor having been hit with a missile, and for the rest of his life from this time he continued to be blind: and I was informed that he used to tell about that which had happened to him a tale of this kind, namely that it seemed to him that a tall man in full armour stood against him, whose beard overshadowed his whole shield; and this apparition passed him by, but killed his comrade who stood next to him. Thus, as I was informed, Epizelos told the tale.

Datis, however, as he was going with his army to Asia, when he had come to Myconos saw a vision in his sleep; and of what nature the vision was it is not reported, but as soon as day dawned he caused a search to be made of the ships, and finding in a Phenician ship an image of Apollo overlaid with gold, he inquired from whence it had been carried off. Then having

been informed from what temple it came, he sailed in his own ship to Delos: and finding that the Delians had returned then to the island, he deposited the image in the temple and charged the men of Delos to convey it back to Delion in the territory of the Thebans, which is situated by the sea-coast just opposite Chalkis. Datis having given this charge sailed away: the Delians however did not convey the statue back, but after an interval of twenty years the Thebans themselves brought it to Delion by reason of an oracle

Now as to those Eretrians who had been reduced to slavery, Datis and Artaphrenes, when they reached Asia in their voyage, brought them up to Susa; and king Dareios, though he had great anger against the Eretrians before they were made captive, because the Eretrians had done wrong to him unprovoked, yet when he saw that they had been brought up to him and were in his power, he did them no more evil, but established them as settlers in the Kissian land upon one of his own domains, of which the name is Ardericca: and this is distant two hundred and ten furlongs from Susa and forty from the well which produces things of three different kinds; for they draw from it asphalt, salt and oil, in the manner which here follows: the liquid is drawn with a swipe, to which there is fastened half a skin instead of a bucket, and a man strikes this down into it and draws up, and then pours it into a cistern, from which it runs through into another vessel, taking three separate ways. The asphalt and the salt become solid at once, and the oil which is called by the Persians *rhadinake*, is black and gives out a disagreeable smell. Here king Dareios established the Eretrians as settlers; and even to my time they continued to occupy this land, keeping still their former language. Thus it happened with regard to the Eretrians.

Of the Lacedemonians there came to Athens two thousand after the full moon, making great haste to be in time, so that they arrived in Attica on the third day after leaving Sparta: and though they had come too late for the battle, yet they desired to behold the Medes; and accordingly they went out to Marathon and looked at the bodies of the slain: then afterwards they departed home, commending the Athenians and the work which they had done.

Now it is a cause of wonder to me, and I do not accept the report, that the Alcmaionidai could ever have displayed to the Persians a shield by a previous understanding, with the desire that the Athenians should be under the Barbarians and under Hippias; seeing that they are evidently proved to

have been haters of despots as much or more than Callias the son of Phainippos and father of Hipponicos, while Callias for his part was the only man of all the Athenians who dared, when Peisistratos was driven out of Athens, to buy his goods offered for sale by the State, and in other ways also he contrived against him everything that was most hostile:

Of this Callias it is fitting that every one should have remembrance for many reasons: first because of that which has been before said, namely that he was a man of excellence in freeing his country; and then also for that which he did at the Olympic games, wherein he gained a victory in the horse-race and was second in the chariot-race, and he had before this been a victor at the Pythian games, so that he was distinguished in the sight of all Hellenes by the sums which he expended; and finally because he showed himself a man of such liberality towards his daughters, who were three in number; for when they came to be of ripe age for marriage, he gave them a most magnificent dowry and also indulged their inclinations; for whomsoever of all the Athenians each one of them desired to choose as a husband for herself, to that man he gave her and similarly, the Alcmaionidai were haters of despots equally or more than he. Therefore this is a cause of wonder to me, and I do not admit the accusation that these they were who displayed the shield; seeing that they were in exile from the despots during their whole time, and that by their contrivance the sons of Peisistratos gave up their rule. Thus it follows that they were the men who set Athens free much more than Harmodios and Aristogeiton, as I judge: for these my slaying Hipparchos exasperated the rest of the family of Peisistratos, and did not at all cause the others to cease from their despotism; but the Alcmaionidai did evidently set Athens free, at least if these were in truth the men who persuaded the Pythian prophetess to signify to the Lacedemonians that they should set Athens free, as I have set forth before.

It may be said however that they had some cause of complaint against the people of the Athenians, and therefore endeavoured to betray their native city. But on the contrary there were no men in greater repute than they, among the Athenians at least, nor who had been more highly honoured. Thus it is not reasonable to suppose that by them a shield should have been displayed for any such purpose. A shield was displayed, however; that cannot be denied, for it was done: but as to who it was who displayed it, I am not able to say more than this.

Now the family of Alcmaionidai was distinguished in Athens in the earliest times also, and from the time of Alcmaion and of Megacles after him they became very greatly distinguished. For first Alcmaion the son of Megacles showed himself a helper of the Lydians from Sardis who came from Croesus to the Oracle at Delphi, and assisted them with zeal; and Croesus having heard from the Lydians who went to the Oracle that this man did him service, sent for him to Sardis; and when he came, he offered to give him a gift of as much gold as he could carry away at once upon his own person.

With a view to this gift, its nature being such, Alcmaion made preparations and used appliances as follows:—he put on a large tunic leaving a deep fold in the tunic to hang down in front, and he draw on his feet the widest boots which he could find, and so went to the treasury to which they conducted him. Then he fell upon a heap of gold-dust, and first he packed in by the side of his legs so much of the gold as his boots would contain, and then he filled the whole fold of the tunic with the gold and sprinkled some of the gold dust on the hair of his head and took some into his mouth, and having so done he came forth out of the treasury, with difficulty dragging along his boots and resembling anything in the world rather than a man; for his mouth was stuffed full, and every part of him was swelled out: and upon Croesus came laughter when he saw him, and he not only gave him all that, but also presented him in addition with more not inferior in value to that. Thus this house became exceedingly wealthy, and thus the Alcmaion of whom I speak became a breeder of chariot-horses and won a victory at Olympia.

Then in the next generation after this, Cleisthenes the despot of Sikyon exalted the family, so that it became of much more note among the Hellenes than it had been formerly. For Cleisthenes the son of Arisonymos, the son of Myron, the son of Andreas, had a daughter whose name was Agariste; and as to her he formed a desire to find out the best man of all the Hellenes and to assign her to him in marriage.

So when the Olympic games were being held and Cleisthenes was victor in them with a four-horse chariot, he caused a proclamation to be made, that whosoever of the Hellenes thought himself worthy to be the son-in-law of Cleisthenes should come on the sixtieth day, or before that if he would, to Sikyon; for Cleisthenes intended to conclude the marriage within a year, reckoning from the sixtieth day. Then all those of the Hellenes who had pride either in themselves or in their high descent, came

as wooers, and for them Cleisthenes had a running-course and a wrestling-place made and kept them expressly for their use.

From Italy came Smindyrides the son of Hippocrates of Sybaris, who of all men on earth reached the highest point of luxury (now Sybaris at this time was in the height of its prosperity), and Damasos of Siris, the son of that Amyris who was called the Wise; these came from Italy: from the Ionian gulf came Amphimnestos the son of Epistrophos of Epidamnos, this man from the Ionian gulf: from Aitolia came Males, the brother of that Titormos who surpassed all the Hellenes in strength and who fled from the presence of men to the furthest extremities of the Aitolian land: from Peloponnesus, Leokedes the son of Pheidon the despot of the Argives, that Pheidon who established for the Peloponnesians the measures which they use, and who went beyond all other Hellenes in wanton insolence, since he removed from their place the presidents of the games appointed by the Eleians and himself presided over the games at Olympia.

His son, I say, and Amiantos the son of Lycurgos an Arcadian from Trapezus, and Laphanes an Azanian from the city of Paios, son of that Euphorion who (according to the story told in Arcadia) received the Dioscuroi as guests in his house and from thenceforth was wont to entertain all men who came, and Onomastos the son of Agaïos of Elis; these, I say, came from Peloponnesus itself: from Athens came Megacles the son of that Alcmaion who went to Croesus, and besides him Hippocleides the son of Tisander, one who surpassed the other Athenians in wealth and in comeliness of form: from Eretria, which at that time was flourishing, came Lysanias, he alone from Euboea: from Thessalia came Diactorides of Crannon, one of the family of the Scopadai: and from the Molossians, Alcon.

So many in number did the wooers prove to be: and when these had come by the appointed day, Cleisthenes first inquired of their native countries and of the descent of each one, and then keeping them for a year he made trial continually both of their manly virtue and of their disposition, training and temper, associating both with each one separately and with the whole number together: and he made trial of them both by bringing out to bodily exercises those of them who were younger, and also especially in the common feast: for during all the time that he kept them he did everything that could be done, and at the same time he entertained them magnificently. Now it chanced that those of the wooers pleased him most who had come from Athens, and of these Hippocleides the son of Tisander

was rather preferred, both by reason of manly virtues and also because he was connected by descent with the family of Kypselos at Corinth.

Then when the appointed day came for the marriage banquet and for Cleisthenes himself to declare whom he selected from the whole number, Cleisthenes sacrificed a hundred oxen and feasted both the wooers themselves and all the people of Sikyon; and when the dinner was over, the wooers began to vie with one another both in music and in speeches for the entertainment of the company; and as the drinking went forward and Hippocleides was very much holding the attention of the others, he bade the flute-player play for him a dance-measure; and when the flute-player did so, he danced: and it so befell that he pleased himself in his dancing, but Cleisthenes looked on at the whole matter with suspicion.

Then Hippocleides after a certain time bade one bring in a table; and when the table came in, first he danced upon it Laconian figures, and then also Attic, and thirdly he planted his head upon the table and gesticulated with his legs. Cleisthenes meanwhile, when he was dancing the first and the second time, though he abhorred the thought that Hippocleides should now become his son-in-law, because of his dancing and his shamelessness, yet restrained himself, not desiring to break out in anger against him; but when he saw that he thus gesticulated with his legs, he was no longer able to restrain himself, but said: "Thou hast danced away thy marriage however, son of Tisander!" and Hippocleides answered and said: "Hippocleides cares not!" and hence comes this saying. Then Cleisthenes caused silence to be made, and spoke to the company as follows: "Men who are wooers of my daughter, I commend you all, and if it were possible I would gratify you all, neither selecting one of you to be preferred, nor rejecting the remainder. Since however it is not possible, as I am deliberating about one maiden only, to act so as to please all, therefore to those of you who are rejected from this marriage I give as a gift a talent of silver to each one for the worthy estimation ye had of me, in that ye desired to marry from my house, and for the time of absence from your homes; and to the son of Alcmaion, Megacles, I offer my daughter Agariste in betrothal according to the customs of the Athenians." Thereupon Megacles said that he accepted the betrothal, and so the marriage was determined by Cleisthenes.

Thus it happened as regards the judgment of the wooers, and thus the Alcmaionidai got renown over all Hellas. And these having been married, there was born to them that Cleisthenes who established the tribes and the

democracy for the Athenians, he being called after the Sikyonian Cleisthenes, his mother's father; this son, I say, was born to Megacles, and also Hippocrates: and of Hippocrates came another Megacles and another Agariste, called after Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes, who having been married to Xanthippos the son of Ariphron and being with child, saw a vision in her sleep, and it seemed to her that she had brought forth a lion: then after a few days she bore to Xanthippos Pericles.

After the defeat at Marathon, Miltiades, who even before was well reputed with the Athenians, came then to be in much higher estimation: and when he asked the Athenians for seventy ships and an army with supplies of money, not declaring to them against what land he was intending to make an expedition, but saying that he would enrich them greatly if they would go with him, for he would lead them to a land of such a kind that they would easily get from it gold in abundance—thus saying he asked for the ships; and the Athenians, elated by these words, delivered them over to him.

Then Miltiades, when he had received the army, proceeded to sail to Paros with the pretence that the Parians had first attacked Athens by making expedition with triremes to Marathon in company with the Persian: this was the pretext which he put forward, but he had also a grudge against the Parians on account of Lysagoras the son of Tisias, who was by race of Paros, for having accused him to Hydarnes the Persian. So when Miltiades had arrived at the place to which he was sailing, he began to besiege the Parians with his army, first having shut them up within their wall; and sending in to them a herald he asked for a hundred talents, saying that if they refused to give them, his army should not return back until it had conquered them completely. The Parians however had no design of giving any money to Miltiades, but contrived only how they might defend their city, devising various things besides and also this,—wherever at any time the wall proved to be open to attack, that point was raised when night came on to double its former height..

So much of the story is reported by all the Hellenes, but as to what followed the Parians alone report, and they say that it happened thus:—When Miltiades was at a loss, it is said, there came a woman to speech with him, who had been taken prisoner, a Parian by race whose name was Timo, an under-priestess of the Earth goddesses; she, they say, came into the presence of Miltiades and counselled him that if he considered it a matter of much moment to conquer Paros, he could do that which she



should suggest to him; and upon that she told him her meaning. He accordingly passed through to the hill which is before the city and leapt over the fence of the temple of Demeter Giver of Laws not being able to open the door; and then having leapt over he went on towards the sanctuary with the design of doing something within, whether it were that he meant to lay hands on some of the things which should not be touched, or whatever else he intended to do; and when he had reached the door, forthwith a shuddering fear came over him and he set off to go back the same way as he came, and as he leapt down from the wall of rough stones his thigh was dislocated, or, as others say, he struck his knee against the wall.

Miltiades accordingly, being in a wretched case, set forth to sail homewards, neither bringing wealth to the Athenians nor having added to them the possession of Paros, but having besieged the city for six-and-twenty days and laid waste the island: and the Parians being informed that Timo the under-priestess of the goddesses had acted as a guide to Miltiades, desired to take vengeance upon her for this, and they sent messengers to Delphi to consult the god, so soon as they had leisure from the siege; and these messengers they sent to ask whether they should put to death the under-priestess of the goddesses, who had been a guide to their enemies for the capture of her native city and had revealed to Miltiades the mysteries which might not be uttered to a male person. The Pythian prophetess however forbade them, saying that Timo was not the true author of these things, but since it was destined that Miltiades should end his life not well, she had appeared to guide him to his evil fate..

Thus the Pythian prophetess replied to the Parians: and the Athenians, when Miltiades had returned back from Paros, began to talk of him, and among the rest especially Xanthippos the son of Ariphron, who brought Miltiades up before the people claiming the penalty of death and prosecuted him for his deception of the Athenians: and Miltiades did not himself make his own defence, although he was present, for he was unable to do so because his thigh was mortifying; but he lay in public view upon a bed, while his friends made a defence for him, making mention much both of the battle which had been fought at Marathon and of the conquest of Lemnos, namely how he had conquered Lemnos and taken vengeance on the Pelasgians, and had delivered it over to the Athenians: and the people came over to his part as regards the acquittal from the penalty of death, but they imposed a fine of fifty talents for the wrong committed: and after this

Miltiades died, his thigh having gangrened and mortified, and the fifty talents were paid by his son Kimon.

Now Miltiades son of Kimon had thus taken possession of the Lemnos:—After the Pelasgians had been cast out of Attica by the Athenians, whether justly or unjustly,—for about this I cannot tell except the things reported, which are these:—Hecataois on the one hand, the son of Hegesander, said in his history that it was done unjustly; for he said that when the Athenians saw the land which extends below Hymettos, which they had themselves given them to dwell in, as payment for the wall built round the Acropolis in former times, when the Athenians, I say, that this land was made good by cultivation, which before was bad and worthless, they were seized with jealousy and with longing to possess the land, and so drove them out, not alleging any other pretext: but according to the report of the Athenians themselves they drove them out justly; for the Pelasgians being settled under Hymettos made this a starting-point and committed wrong against them as follows:—the daughters and sons of the Athenians were wont ever to go for water to the spring of Enneacrunos; for at that time neither they nor the other Hellenes as yet had household servants; and when these girls came.

The Pelasgians in wantonness and contempt of the Athenians would offer them violence; and it was not enough for them even to do this, but at last they were found in the act of plotting an attack upon the city: and the narrators say that they herein proved themselves better men than the Pelasgians, inasmuch as when they might have slain the Pelasgians, who had been caught plotting against them, they did not choose to do so, but ordered them merely to depart out of the land: and thus having departed out of the land, the Pelasgians took possession of several older places and especially of Lemnos. The former story is that which was reported by Hecataios, while the latter is that which is told by the Athenians.

These Pelasgians then, dwelling after that in Lemnos, desired to take vengeance on the Athenians; and having full knowledge also of the festivals of the Athenians, they got fifty-oared galleys and laid wait for the women of the Athenians when they were keeping festival to Artemis in Brauron; and having carried off a number of them from thence, they departed and sailed away home, and taking the women to Lemnos they kept them as concubines. Now when these women had children gradually more and more, they made it their practice to teach their sons both the Attic tongue and the manners of the Athenians. And these were not willing

to associate with the sons of the Pelasgian women, and moreover if any of them were struck by any one of those, they all in a body came to the rescue and helped one another. Moreover the boys claimed to have authority over the other boys and got the better of them easily.

Perceiving these things the Pelasgians considered the matter; and when they took counsel together, a fear came over them and they thought, if the boys were indeed resolved now to help one another against the sons of the legitimate wives, and were endeavouring already from the first to have authority over them, what would they do when they were grown up to be men? Then they determined to put to death the sons of the Athenian women, and this they actually did; and in addition to them they slew their mothers also. From this deed and from that which was done before this, which the women did when they killed Thoas and the rest, who were their own husbands, it has become a custom in Hellas that all deeds of great cruelty should be called "Lemnian deeds."

After the Pelasgians had killed their own sons and wives, the earth did not bear fruit for them, nor did their women or their cattle bring forth young as they did before; and being hard pressed by famine and by childlessness, they sent to Delphi to ask for a release from the evils which were upon them; and the Pythian prophetess bade them pay such penalty to the Athenians as the Athenians themselves should appoint.

The Pelasgians came accordingly to Athens and professed that they were willing to pay the penalty for all the wrong which they had done: and the Athenians laid a couch in the fairest possible manner in the City Hall, and having set by it a table covered with all good things, they bade the Pelasgians deliver up to them their land in that condition. Then the Pelasgians answered and said: "When with a North Wind in one single day a ship shall accomplish the voyage from your land to ours, then we will deliver it up," feeling assured that it was impossible for this to happen, since Attica lies far away to the South of Lemnos..

Such were the events which happened then: and very many years later, after the Chersonese which is by the Hellespont had come to be under the Athenians, Miltiades the son of Kimon, when the Etesian Winds blew steadily, accomplished the voyage in a ship from Elaius in the Chersonese to Lemnos, and proclaimed to the Pelasgians that they should depart out of the island, reminding them of the oracle, which the Pelasgians had never expected would be accomplished for them. The men of Hephaistia

accordingly obeyed; but those of Myrina, not admitting that the Chersonese was Attica, suffered a siege, until at last these also submitted. Thus it was that the Athenians and Miltiades took possession of Lemnos.

# XENOPHANES

## **Xenophanes of Colophon (Ancient Greek: Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ; c.570 – c.475 BCE)**

A Greek philosopher, poet, and social and religious critic. Our knowledge of his views comes from fragments of his poetry, surviving as quotations by later Greek writers. To judge from these, his elegiac and iambic poetry criticized and satirized a wide range of ideas, including Homer and Hesiod, the belief in the pantheon of anthropomorphic gods and the Greeks' veneration of athleticism. He is the earliest Greek poet who claims explicitly to be writing for future generations, creating "*fame that will reach all of Greece, and never die while the Greek kind of songs survives.*"

Xenophanes rejected the idea that the gods resembled humans in form strenuously enough that the idea must have been widely current in the sixth century. He is the first to express a skepticism that became current during the fourth century. He cleverly satirized the polytheistic beliefs of earlier Greek poets and of his own contemporaries: "Homer and Hesiod" one fragment states, "have attributed to the gods all sorts of things that are matters of reproach and censure among men: theft, adultery, and mutual deception."

Sextus Empiricus reported that, but such ideas were savored by Christian apologists. One famous, proto-sociological passage, repeated by Clement of Alexandria ridiculed the idea by claiming that, if oxen were able to imagine gods, then those gods would be in the image of oxen:

The *Ethiops* say that their gods are flat-nosed and black,  
While the Thracians say that theirs have blue eyes and red hair.  
Yet if cattle or horses or lions had hands and could draw,  
And could sculpt like men, then the horses would draw their gods  
Like horses, and cattle like cattle; and each they would shape  
Bodies of gods in the likeness, each kind, of their own

Because of his development of the concept of a "one god greatest among gods and men" that is abstract, universal, unchanging, immobile and always present, Xenophanes is often seen as one of the first monotheists,

in the Western philosophy of religion. This vision is not undisputed; while it seems clear that Xenophanes differed markedly from the commonly held cosmology of his contemporaries, it is less clear that his ideas were congruent with monotheism *per se*, as he seemed to admit the existence of other gods ("among gods and men"), albeit different gods than the ones represented in the works of Homer and Hesiod.

He also wrote that poets should only tell stories about the gods which were socially uplifting, one of many views which foreshadowed the work of Plato. Xenophanes also concluded from his examination of fossils that water once must have covered all of the Earth's surface. His epistemology, which is still influential today, held that there actually exists a truth of reality, but that humans as mortals are unable to know it. Therefore, it is possible to act only on the basis of working hypotheses - we may act as if we knew the truth, as long as we know that this is extremely unlikely. This aspect of Xenophanes was brought out again by Karl Popper and is a basis of Critical rationalism.

Until the 1950s, there was some controversy over many aspects of Xenophanes, including whether or not he could be properly characterized as a philosopher. In today's philosophical and classics discourse, Xenophanes is seen as one of the most important presocratic philosophers. It had also been common since antiquity to see him as the teacher of Zeno of Elea, the colleague of Parmenides, and generally associated with the Eleatic school, but common opinion today is likewise that this is false (see Leshner, p. 102).

Xenophanes approached the question of science from the standpoint of the reformer rather than of the scientific investigator. If we look at the very considerable remains of his poetry that have come down to us, we see that they are all in the satirist's and social reformer's vein. There is one dealing with the management of a feast, another which denounces the exaggerated importance attached to athletic victories, and several which attack the humanized gods of Homer. The problem is, therefore, to find, if we can, a single point of view from which all these fragments can be interpreted, although it may be that no such point of view exists. Like the religious reformers of the day, Xenophanes turned his back on the anthropomorphic polytheism of Homer and Hesiod. This revolt is based on a conviction that the tales of the poets are directly responsible for the moral corruption of the time.

Xenophanes found the weapons he required for his attack on polytheism in the science of the time. There are traces of Anaximander's cosmology in the fragments, and Xenophanes may easily have been his disciple before he left Ionia. He seems to have taken the gods of mythology one by one and reduced them to meteorological phenomena, and especially to clouds. And he maintained there was only one god—namely, the world. God is one incorporeal eternal being, and, like the universe, spherical in form; that he is of the same nature with the universe, comprehending all things within himself; is intelligent, and pervades all things, but bears no resemblance to human nature either in body or mind.

He taught that if there had ever been a time when nothing existed, nothing could ever have existed. Whatever is, always has been from eternity, without deriving its existence from any prior principles. Nature, he believed, is one and without limit; that what is one is similar in all its parts, else it would be many; that the one infinite, eternal, and homogeneous universe is immutable and incapable of change. His position is often classified as pantheistic, although his use of the term 'god' simply follows the use characteristic of the early cosmologists generally. There is no evidence that Xenophanes regarded this 'god' with any religious feeling, and all we are told about him (or rather about it) is purely negative. He is quite unlike a man, and has no special organs of sense, but 'sees all over, thinks all over, hears all over' (fr. 24). Further, he does not go about from place to place (fr. 26), but does everything 'without toil (fr. 25).

## The Sayings of Xenophanes

Arist. Rhet. ii. 23; 1399 b 6 (Karsten, Fr. 34).

Xenophanes asserts that those who say the gods are born are as impious as those who say that they die; for in both cases it amounts to this, that the gods do not exist at all.

Ibid. 1400 b 5 (K. 35). When the inhabitants of Elea asked Xenophanes whether they should sacrifice to Leukothea and sing a dirge or not, he advised them not to sing a dirge if they thought her divine, and if they thought her human not to sacrifice to her.<sup>1</sup>

Plutarch, de vit. pud. p. 530 F (K. 36). When Lasos, son of Hermiones, called that man a coward who was unwilling to play at dice with him, Xenophanes answered that he was very cowardly and without daring in regard to dishonourable things.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plutarch, Amat. p. 763 D; Is. et Os. p. 379 B.

Diog. Laer. ix. 20 (K. 37). When Empedokles said to him (Xenophanes) that the wise man was not to be found, he answered : Naturally, for it would take a wise man to recognise a wise man.

Plut. de comm. not. p. 1084 E (K. 38). Xenophanes, when some one told him that he had seen eels living in hot water, said : Then we will boil them in cold water.

Diog. Laer. ix. 19 (K. 89). ' Have intercourse with tyrants either as little as possible, or as agreeably as possible.'

Clem. Al. Strom. vii. p. 841. And Greeks suppose the gods to be like men in their passions as well as in their forms ; and accordingly they represent them, each race in forms like their own, in the words of Xenophanes : Ethiopians make their gods black and snub-nosed, Thracians red-haired and with blue eyes ; so also they conceive the spirits of the gods to be like themselves.<sup>2</sup>

## Passages relating to Xenophanes in Plato and Aristotle

Plato, Soph. 242o. And the Eleatic group of thinkers among us, beginning with Xenophanes and even earlier, set forth in tales how what men call all things is really one.

De Coelo, ii. 13 ; 294 a 21. On this account some assert that there is no limit to the earth underneath us, saying that it is rooted in infinity, as, for instance, Xenophanes of Kolophon ; in order that they may not have the trouble of seeking the cause.

De mirac. oscult. 38 ; 833 a 16. The fire at Lipara, Xenophanes says, ceased once for sixteen years, and came back in the seventeenth. And he says that the lava-stream from Aetna is neither of the nature of fire, nor is it continuous, but it appears at intervals of many years.

Metaph. i. 5 ; 986 b 10. There are some who have expressed the opinion about the All that it is one in its essential nature, but they have not expressed this opinion after the same manner nor in an orderly or natural way. 986 b 23. Xenophanes first taught the unity of these things (Parmenides is said to have been his pupil), but he did not make anything clear, nor did he seem to get at the nature of either of these things, but looking up into the broad heavens he said : The unity is god.

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Theod. Grace. Aff. Cur. iii. p. 49.



## The Eleatic School: Xenophanes

Extracts from the book ordinarily called DC Xenophane, Zenone, Gorgia, and ascribed to Aristotle, are in part translated below, p. 80, n. 2 ff., in connection with the fragment of Theophrastos which covers exactly the same ground.

[ 1] So he showed that god is without beginning and eternal. Nor is it either infinite or subject to limits ; for not-being is infinite, as having neither beginning nor middle nor end ; moreover limits arise through the relation of a multiplicity of things to each other.

[2] Similarly he denies to it both motion and rest; for not-being is immovable, since neither could anything else come into it nor could it itself come into anything else ; motion, on the one hand, arises among the several parts of the one, for one thing changes its position with reference to another, so that when he says that it abides in the same state and is not moved.

[4] 'And it always abides in the same place, not moved at all, nor is it fitting that it should move from one place to another,' he does not mean that it abides in a rest that is the antithesis of motion, but rather in a stillness that is out of the sphere of both motion and rest.

Nikolaos of Damascus in his book *On the Gods* mentions him as saying that the first principle of things is infinite and immovable.[3 ]According to Alexander he regards this principle as limited and spherical. But that Xenophanes shows it to be neither limited nor infinite is clear from the very words

1 Of. Arist. X.Z.G. 977 a 19. He adds : For even if the stronger were to come from the weaker, the greater from the less, or the better from the worse, or on the other hand the worse from the better, still being could not come from not-being, since this is impossible. Accordingly god is eternal.

2 Of. Arist. X.Z.G. 977 b 6. The second part reads : But if there were several parts, these would limit each other. The one is not like not-being nor like a multiplicity of parts, since the one has nothing by which it may be limited.

3 Arist. X.Z.G. 977 b 13. He adds : Nothing, however, can be moved into not-being, for not-being does not exist anywhere. But if there is change of place among several parts, there would be parts of the one. Therefore the two or more parts of the one may be moved ; but to remain immovable and fixed is a characteristic of not-being. The one is neither movable nor is it fixed ; for it is neither like not-being, nor like a multiplicity of being.

Several of the commentators have made false statements about Xenophanes, as for instance Sabinos, who uses almost these very words :

I say that man is not air, as Anaximenes taught, nor water, as Thales taught, nor earth, as Xenophanes says in some book ; ' but no such opinion is found to be expressed by Xenophanes anywhere. And it is clear from Sabinos' s own words that he made a false statement intentionally and did not fall into error through ignorance. Else he would certainly have mentioned by name the book in which Xenophanes expressed this opinion. On the contrary he wrote 'as Xenophanes says in some book.' Theophrastos would have recorded this opinion of Xenophanes in his abridgment of the opinions of the physicists, if it were really true. And if you are interested in the investigation of these things, you can read the books of Theophrastos in which he made this abridgment of the opinions of the physicists.

Hipp. Philos. i. 14; Dox. 565. Xenophanes of Kolophon, son of Orthomenes, lived to the time of Cyrus. He was the first to say that all things are incomprehensible, in the following verses : (Frag. 14) ' For even if one chances for the most part to say what is true, still he would not know; but every one thinks he

1 Arist. X.Z.G. 977. Since god is a unity, he is homogeneous in all his parts, and sees and hears and has other sensations in all his parts. Except for this some parts of god might rule and be ruled by one another, a thing which is impossible. Being homogeneous throughout he is a sphere in form; for it could not be spheroidal in places but rather throughout.

He says that nothing comes into being, nor is anything destroyed, nor moved ; and that the universe is one and is not subject to change. And he says that god is eternal and one, homogeneous throughout, limited, spherical, with power of sense-perception in all parts. The sun is formed each day from small fiery particles which are gathered together; the earth is infinite, and is not surrounded by air or by sky; an infinite number of suns and moons exist, and all things come from earth.

The sea, he said, is salt because so many things flow together and become mixed in it ; but Metrodoros assigns as the reason for its saltiness that it has filtered through the earth and Xenophanes believes that once the earth was mingled with the sea, but in the course of time it became freed from moisture ; and his proofs are such as these : that shells are found in the midst of the land and among the mountains, that<sup>3</sup> *the quarries of Syracuse the imprints of a fish and of seals had been found*, and in Paros the imprint

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<sup>3</sup> An indication of the stratified layers later recognized as fossil and assisted dating the age of these finds within stratified deposits of earth to a particular era, i.e, Cambrian (Trilobites etc).

of an anchovy at some depth in the stone, and in Melite shallow impressions of all sorts of sea products.

He says that these imprints were made when everything long ago was covered with mud, and then the imprint dried in the mud. Farther he says that all men will be destroyed when the earth sinks into the sea and becomes mud, and that the race will begin anew from the beginning; and this transformation takes place for all worlds. Xenophanes of Kolophon, going his own way and differing from all those that had gone before, did not admit *e* ; ther genesis or destruction, but says that the all is always the same. For if it came into being, it could not have existed before this ; and not-being could not come into existence nor could it accomplish anything, nor could anything come from not-being, and he declares that sensations are deceptive, and together with them he does away with the authority of reason itself. And he declares that the earth is constantly sinking little by little into the sea

He says that the sun is composed of numerous fiery particles massed together. And with regard to the gods he declares that there is no rule of one god over another, for it is impious that any of the gods should be ruled; and none of the gods have need of anything at all, for a god hears and sees in all his parts and not in some particular organs.

He declares that the earth is infinite and is not surrounded on every side by air; and all things arise from earth ; and he says that the sun and the stars arise from clouds. The objects which appear to those on vessels like stars, and which some call Dioscuri, are little clouds which have become luminous by a certain kind of motion.

20; 548. The sun is composed of fiery particles collected from the moist exhalation and massed together, or of burning clouds.

24; 354. Eclipses occur by extinction of the sun ; and the sun is born anew at its risings. Xenophanes recorded an eclipse of the sun for a whole month, and another eclipse so complete that the day seemed as night.

24; 355. Xenophanes held that there are many suns and moons according to the different regions and sections and zones of the earth ; and that at some fitting time the disk of the sun comes into a region of the earth not inhabited by us, and so it suffers eclipse as though it had gone into a hole; he adds that the sun goes on for an infinite distance, but it seems to turn around by reason of the great distance.

25; 356. The moon is a compressed cloud.

28; 358. It shines by its own light.

29; 360. The moon disappears each month because it is extinguished. 30; 362. The sun serves a purpose in the generation of the world and of the animals on it, as well as in sustaining them, and it drags the moon after it.

Aet. iii. 2 ; 367. Comets are groups or motions of burning clouds.

3 ; 368. Lightnings take place when clouds shine in motion

4 ; 371. The phenomena of the heavens come from the warmth of the sun as the principal cause. For when the moisture is drawn up from the sea, the sweet water separated by reason of its lightness becomes mist and passes into clouds, and falls as rain when compressed, and the winds scatter it ; for he writes expressly (Frag. 11) : ' The sea is the source of water.'

Aet. iv. 9; 396. Sensations are deceptive.

Aet. v. 1 ; 415. Xenophanes and Epikouros abolished the prophetic art.

SOURCE – The First Philosophers of Greece, an Edition and translation of the remaining fragments of the pre-Socratic Philosophers, together with a translation of the more important accounts of their opinions contained in the early epitomes of their works. by *Arthur Fairbanks*, New York, *Charles Scribner's Sons* 1898

## EUDOXUS OF CNIDUS



Eudoxus of Cnidus (410 or 408 BC - 355 or 347 BC) was a Greek astronomer, mathematician, physician, scholar and student of Plato. Since all his own works are lost, our knowledge of him is obtained from secondary sources, such as Aratus's poem on astronomy. Theodosius of Bithynia's *Sphaerics* may be based on a work of Eudoxus. Eudoxus was the son of Aeschines of Cnidus, located in Asia Minor. Eudoxus first travelled to Tarentum to study with Archytas, from whom he learned mathematics. While in Italy, Eudoxus visited Sicily, where he studied medicine with Philiston.

In 387 BC, at the age of 23, he traveled with the physician Theomedon to Athens to study with the followers of Socrates. He eventually became the pupil of Plato, with whom he studied for several months, but due to a disagreement they had a falling out. Eudoxus was quite poor and could only afford an apartment at the Piraeus. To attend Plato's lectures, he walked the seven miles each direction, each day. Due to his poverty, his friends raised funds sufficient to send him to Heliopolis, Egypt to pursue his study of astronomy and mathematics. He lived there 16 months. From Egypt, he then traveled north to Cyzicus, located on the south shore of the Sea of Marmara, and the Propontis. He traveled south to the court of Maussolus. During his travels he gathered many students of his own.

Around 368 BC, he returned to Athens with his students. Eudoxus eventually returned to his native Cnidus, where he served in the city assembly. While in Cnidus, he built an observatory and continued writing and lecturing on theology, astronomy and meteorology. He had one son, Aristagoras, and three daughters, Actis, Philtis and Delphis.

In mathematical astronomy his fame is due to the introduction of the astronomical globe, and his early contributions to understanding the movement of the planets. His work on proportions shows tremendous insight into numbers; it allows rigorous treatment of continuous quantities and not just whole numbers or even rational numbers. When it was revived by Tartaglia and others in the 1500s, it became the basis for quantitative work in science for a century, until it was replaced by the algebraic methods of Descartes.

Eudoxus rigorously developed Antiphan's method of exhaustion, which was used in a masterly way by Archimedes. The work of Eudoxus and Archimedes as precursors of calculus was only exceeded in mathematical sophistication and rigour by Indian Mathematician Bhaskara and later by Newton.

## ANAXAGORAS

ANAXAGORAS of Klazomenae, son of Hegesiboulos, was born in the seventieth Olympiad (500-497) and died in the first year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad, according to the chronicles of Apollodoros.

It is said that he neglected his possessions in his pursuit of philosophy ; he began to teach philosophy in the archon-ship of Kallias at Athens. The fall of a meteoric stone at Aegps Potamoi (467 or 469) influenced profoundly his views of the heavenly bodies.

Petikles brought him to Athens, and tradition says he remained there thirty years. His exile (434-432) was brought about by the enemies of Perikles, and he died at Lam-psakos. He wrote but one book, according to Diogenes, and the same authority says this was written in a pleasing and lofty style.

*Literature* : Schaubach, Anax. Claz. Frag. Lips. 1827; W.Schorn, Anax. Claz. et Diog. Apoll. Frag. Bonn 1829; Panzerbieter, De frag. Anax. ord. Meining. 1886; Fr. Breier, Die Philosophie des Anax. nach Arist. Berl. 1840. Cf. Diels, Hermes xiii. 4.

All things were together, infinite both in number and in smallness ; for the small also was infinite. And when they were all together, nothing was clear and distinct because of their smallness ; for air and aether comprehended all things, both being infinite ; for these are present in everything, and are greatest both as to number and as to greatness.

For air and aether are separated from the surrounding mass ; and the surrounding (mass) is infinite in quantity. But before these were separated, when all things were together, not even was any colour clear and distinct ; for the mixture of all things prevented it, the mixture of moist and dry, of the warm and the cold, and of the bright and the dark (since much earth was present), and of germs infinite in number, in no way like each other ; for none of the other things at all resembles the one the other and since these things are so, it is necessary to think that in all the objects that are compound there existed many things of all sorts, and germs of all objects, having all sorts of forms and colours and tastes.

And men were constituted, and the other animals, as many as have life. And the men have inhabited cities and works constructed as among us, and they have sun and moon and other things as among us ; and the earth brings forth for them many things of all sorts, of which they carry the most serviceable into the house and use them. These things then I have said concerning the separation, that not only among us would the separation take place, but elsewhere too.

So these things rotate and are separated by force and swiftness. And the swiftness produces force; and their swiftness is in no way like the swiftness of the things now existing among men, but it is certainly many times as swift.

When they are thus distinguished, it is necessary to recognise that they all become no fewer and no more. For it is impossible that more than all should exist, but all are always equal. In all things there is a portion of everything except mind ; and there are things in which there is mind also.

Other things include a portion of everything, but mind is infinite and self-powerful and mixed with nothing, but it exists alone itself by itself. For if it were not by itself, but were mixed with anything else, it would include parts of all things, if it were mixed with any-thing ; for a portion of everything exists in everything, as has been said by me before, and things mingled with it would prevent it from having power over anything in the same way that it does now that it is alone by itself.

For it is the most rarefied of all things and the purest, and it has all knowledge in regard to everything and the greatest power ; over all that has life, both greater and less, mind I rules.

And mind ruled the rotation of the whole, so that it set it in rotation in the beginning.

First it began the rotation from a small beginning, then more and more was included in the motion, and yet more will be included. both the mixed and the separated and distinct, all things mind recognised. And whatever things were to be, and whatever things were, as many as are now, and whatever things shall be, all these mind arranged in order ; and it arranged that rotation, according to which now rotate stars and sun and moon and air and aether, now that they are separated.

Rotation itself caused the separation, and the dense is separated from the rare, the warm from the cold, the bright from the dark, the dry from the moist. and there are many portions of many things.



Nothing is absolutely separated nor distinct, one thing from another, except mind.

All mind is of like character, both the greater and the smaller. But nothing different is like anything else, but in whatever object there are the most, each single object is and was most distinctly these things, and when mind began to set things in motion, there was separation from everything that was in motion, and however much mind set in motion, all this was made distinct. The rotation of the things that were moved and made distinct caused them to be yet more distinct.

The dense, the moist, the cold, the dark, collected there where now is the earth ; the rare, the warm, the dry, the bright, departed toward the farther part of the aether.

Earth is condensed out of these things that are separated. For water is separated from the clouds, and earth from the water ; and from the earth stones are condensed by cold ; and these are separated farther from water.

But mind, as it always has been, especially now also is where all other things are, in the surrounding mass, and in the things that were separated, and in the things that are being separated.

Things in the one universe are not divided from each other, nor yet are they cut off with an axe, neither hot from cold, nor cold from hot.

For neither is there a least of what is small, but there is always a less. For being is not non-being. i.e. things are called after the element or elements (homoeoneries) which predominate in their make-up. \* Cf. Herakleitos. Fr. 68. & 2

But there is always a greater than what is great, and it is equal to the small in number ; but with reference to itself each thing is both small and great, and since the portions of the great and the small are equal in number, thus also all things would be in everything. Nor yet is it possible for them to exist apart, but all things include a portion of everything.

Since it is not possible for the least to exist, nothing could be separated, nor yet could it come into being of itself, but as they were in the beginning so they are now, all things together and there are many things in all things, and of those that are separated there are things equal in number in the greater and the lesser.

The Greeks do not rightly use the terms ' coming into being ' and ' perishing.'

For nothing comes into being nor yet does anything perish, but there is mixture and separation of things that are. So they would do right in calling the coming into being 'mixture,' and the perishing 'separation.'

For how could hair come from what is not hair ? Or flesh from what is not flesh ?

*Literature* : Schaubach, Anax. Claz. Frag. Lips. 1827; W.Schorn, Anax. Claz. et Diog. Apoll. Frag. Bonn 1829; Panzerbieter, De frag. Anax. ord. Meining. 1886; Fr. Breier, Die Philosophie des Anax. nach Arist. Berl. 1840. Cf. Diels, Hermes xiii. 4.

### **Passages from Plato Referring to Anaxagoras**

*ApoL 26 D.* He asserts that I say the sun is a stone and the moon is earth. Do you think of accusing Anaxagoras, Meletos, and have you so low an opinion of these men and think them so unskilled in letters as not to know that the books of Anaxagoras of Klazomenae are full of these doctrines ? and forsooth the young men are learning these matters from me, which sometimes they can buy from the orchestra for a drachma at the most, and laugh at Sokrates if he pretends that they are his particularly seeing they are so strange.

*Phaedo 72 c.* And if all things were composite and were not separated, speedily the statement of Anaxagoras would become true, 'All things were together.'

97 c. I heard a man reading from a book of one Anaxagoras (he said), to the effect that it is mind which arranges all things and is the cause of all things.

98 B. Reading the book, I see that the man does - "not make any use of mind, nor does he assign any causes for the arrangement of things, but he treats air and aether and water as causes, and many other strange things.

Lysis 214 B. The writings of the wisest men say that it is necessary for the like always to be loved by the unlike.

Hipp. Mai. 283 A. They say you had an experience opposite to that of Anaxagoras ; for though he inherited much property he lost it all by his carelessness ; so he practised a senseless wisdom.

Kratyl. 400 A. And do you not believe Anaxagoras that the nature of all other things is mind, and that it is soul which arranges and controls them ? (cf. *Phaedo 72 c.*)

409 A. It looks as though the opinion Anaxagoras . recently expressed was a more ancient matter, that the moon has its light from the sun.

413 c. Anaxagoras is right in saying that this is , mind, for he says that mind exercising absolute power and mingled with nothing disposes all things, running through all.

Rival. 132 A. But the youths seemed to be quarrelling about Anaxagoras or Oenopedos, for they were evidently drawing circles and imitating certain inclinations by the slope of their hands with great earnestness.

Phil. 28 c. All the wise men agree that mind is king of heaven and earth for us.

30 D. Some long ago declared that always mind rules the all. Legg. 967 B. And some had the daring to conjecture this very thing, saying that it is mind which disposes all things in the heavens. And the same men again, being in error as to the nature of soul, in that it is older than bodies, while they regarded it as younger, to put it in a word, turned all things upside down, and themselves most of all. For indeed all things before their eyes the things moving in the heavens appeared to them to be full of stones and earth and many other soulless bodies, which dispose the causes of all the universe.

Phaedr. 270 A. All the arts that are great require subtlety and the higher kind of philosophy of nature ; so such loftiness and complete effectiveness seem to come from this source. This Perikles acquired in addition to being a man of genius ; for as the result, I think, of his acquaintance with such a man as Anaxagoras he became imbued with high philosophy, and arrived at the nature of intelligence and its opposite, concerning which Anaxagoras often discoursed, so that he brought to the art of speaking what was advantageous to him.

Phys. i. 4 ; 187 a 20. And others say that the opposites existing in the one are separated out of it, as Anaximandros says, and as many as say that things are one and many, as Empedokles and Anaxagoras ; for these separate other things out of the mixture, and Anaxagoras seems to have thought (the elements) infinite because he assumed the common opinion of the physicists to be true, that nothing arises out of non-being; for this is why they say, as they do, that all things were together, and he established the fact that such ' arising ' was change of form.

Phys. L 4 ; 187 a 36.<sup>1</sup> They thought that (what arose) arose necessarily out of things that are and their attributes, and, because the masses were so small, of what we cannot perceive. Wherefore they say that everything was mixed in everything because they saw everything arising out of everything ; and different things appeared and were called different from each other according to what is present in greater number in the mixture of the infinites ; for the whole is not purely white or black or sweet or flesh or bone, but the nature of the thing seems to be that of which it has the most.

Phys. iii. 4 ; 203 a 19. And as many as make the elements infinite, as Anaxagoras and Demokritos, the former out of homoeomeries. . . .

Phys. iii. 5 ; 205 b 1. Anaxagoras speaks strangely about the permanence of the infinite ; for he says that the infinite itself establishes itself that is, it is in itself; for nothing else surrounds it, so that wherever anything may be, it is there in virtue of its origin.

Phys. iv. 6 ; 213 a 22. Some who try to show that the void does not exist, do not prove this of what men are wont to call a void, but they make the mistake Anaxagoras did and those who attempted to prove it after this manner. For they show that air is something, blowing skins up tight, and showing how strong air is, and shutting it up in clepsydrae.

Phys. viii. 1 ; 250 b 24. For Anaxagoras says that when all things were together and had been at rest for an infinite time, mind introduced motion and caused separation.

Phys. viii. 5 ; 256 b 24. So Anaxagoras is right in saying that mind is not affected by other things and is unmixed, since he makes it the first principle of motion. For thus only, being unmoved, it might move, and being unmixed, it might rule. saying that mind is not affected by other things and is unmixed, since he makes it the first principle of motion. For thus only, being unmoved, it might move, and being unmixed, it might rule. 1 Cf. 265 b 22.

De caelo i. 3 ; 270 b 24. Anaxagoras does not use this word rightly, for he uses the word aether instead of fire.

De caelo iii. 2 ; 301 a 12. Anaxagoras starts to construct the universe out of non-moving bodies.

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<sup>1</sup> Phys. L 4 ; 187 a 36 – Anaxagoras and Leucippus believed that matter was created of tiny particles known as *atoma*(uncuttable)*their interpretation was about 2300 years premature.*The atom was not split until 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

De caelo iii. 3 ; 302 a 31. Anaxagoras says the opposite to Empedokles, for he calls the homoeomeries elements (I mean such as flesh and bone and each of those things), and air and fire he calls mixtures of these and of all the other ' seeds ; ' for each of these things is made of the invisible homoeomeries all heaped together. Wherefore all things arise out of these things ; for he calls fire and aether the same. And since there is a peculiar motion of every material body, and some motions are simple and some complex, and the complex motions are those of complex bodies and the simple motions of simple bodies, it is evident that there will be simple bodies. For there are also simple motions. So it is evident what elements are, and why they are.

De caelo iv. 2 ; 309 a 20. Some of those who deny that there is a void say nothing definite concerning lightness and weight, for instance Anaxagoras and Empedokles.

Gen. corr. i. 1 ; 314 a 11. Others assert that matter is more than one, as Empedokles and Leukippos and Anaxagoras, but there is a difference between these and Anaxagoras even ignores his own word, for he says that he has shown genesis and destruction to both the same as change, but like the others, he says there are many elements.. Anaxagoras et al. say there are an infinite number of elements. For he regards the homoeomeries as elements, such as bone and flesh and marrow, and other things of which the part (nepos) has the same name as the whole.'Cf. Met. 989 b 15.

De anima i. 2 ; 404 a 25. In like manner Anaxagoras says that soul is the moving power, and if any one else has said that mind moved the all, no one said it absolutely as did Demokritos.

De anima i. 2 ; 404 b 1. Anaxagoras speaks less clearly about these things ; for many times he rightly and truly says that mind is the cause, while at other times he says it is soul ; for (he says) it is in all animals, both great and small, both honoured and dishonoured, but it is not apparent that what is intelligently called mind is present in all animals alike, nor even in all men.

De anima i. 2 ; 405 a 13. Anaxagoras seems to say that soul and mind are different, as we said before, but he treats both as one in nature, except that he regards mind especially as the first principle of all things ; for he says that this alone of all things is simple and unmixed and pure. And he assigns both to the same first principle, both knowledge and motion, saying that mind moves the all.

De anima i. 19 ; 405 b 19. Anaxagoras alone says that mind does not suffer change, and has nothing in common with any of the other things.

De plant. iv. 10; 687 a 7. Anaxagoras says that man is the most intelligent of animals because he has hands.' Cf.iii. 4; 429 b 24.

De plant, i. 815 a 16. Anaxagoras said that plants are animals and feel pleasure and pain, inferring this because they shed their leaves and let them grow again.

De plant, i. 816 b 26. Anaxagoras said that plants have these (motion and sensation) and breathing.

De plant, i.;817 a 26. Anaxagoras said that their moisture is from the earth, and on this account he said to Lechineos that the Earth is mother of plants, and the Sun father.

Meta. i. 3 984 all. Anaxagoras of Klazomenae, who preceded him (Empedokles) in point of age and followed him in his works, says that the first principles are infinite in number ; for nearly all things being made up of like parts (homoeomeries), as for instance fire and water, he says arise and perish only by composition and separation, and there is no other arising and perishing, but they abide eternal.

Meta. i. 3; 984 b 8. Besides these and similar causes, inasmuch as they are not such as to generate the nature of things, they (again compelled, as we said, by the truth itself) sought the first principle which lay nearest. For perhaps neither fire nor earth nor any other such thing should fittingly be or be thought a cause why some things exist and others arise ; nor is it well to assign any such matter to its voluntary motion or to chance. Moreover one who said that as mind exists in animals, so it exists in nature as the cause of the universe and of all order, appeared as a sober man in contrast with those before who spoke rashly.

Meta. i. 4 ; 985 a 18. Anaxagoras uses mind as a device by which to construct the universe, and when he is at a loss for the cause why anything necessarily is, then he drags this in, but in other cases he assigns any other cause rather than mind for what comes into being.

Meta. i. 8 ; 989 a 30. And if any one were to assume that Anaxagoras said the elements were two, he certainly would assume it according to a principle which that one did not describe distinctly ; nevertheless he would follow along a necessary path those who guided him. For though it is strange particularly that he said all things had been mixed together at first, and that they must first have existed unmixed because they came together, and because chance had not in its nature to be mingled with chance ; and in addition to this it is strange that he should separate qualities and accidental characteristics from essences (for there is mixture and separation of these), nevertheless if any one should follow him and try to put together what he

wanted to say, perhaps he would seem to speak in a very novel manner. For when nothing was separated, clearly it was not possible to say anything true of that essence, I mean to say that anything was white or black or grey or any other colour, but everything was necessarily colourless ; for it might have any of these colours. In like manner it is tasteless, nor according to the same line of argument could it have any other of the like qualities; for it could not have any quality, or quantity, or anything. For then one of what are sometimes called forms would exist for it, and this is impossible when all things are mixed together ; for it would have been already separated, and he says that all things are mixed together except mind, and this alone is unmixed and pure. It results from these views that he says the first principles are unity (for this is simple and unmixed), and what is different from unity, such as we suppose the undefined to be before it was defined and partook of any form. So he does not speak rightly or clearly, still he means something like those who spoke later and with greater clearness.

Meta. iii. 5; 1009 b 25. And he called to mind the saying of Anaxagoras that just such things as men assume will be real for them.

Meta. iii. 7 ; 1012 a 26. The thought of Anaxagoras that some things exist between contradictory propositions, so that all things are false ; for when they are mixed together, the mixture is neither good nor not good, so that there is nothing true to be said.

Meta. x. 6; 1063 b 25. According to the position of Herakleitos, or of Anaxagoras, it is not possible to speak the truth.

Ethic, vi. 5; 1141 b 3. Wherefore they say that Thales and Anaxagoras and such wise men are lacking in intelligence, when they see them ignorant in things that are for their own advantage, and they say they know things extraordinary and wonderful and dreadful and divine, but these are of no use, because they do not seek human good.

Ethic, x. 9; 1179 a 13. And Anaxagoras did not seem to regard the rich man nor yet the powerful man as the happy one when he said he would not be surprised if any one appeared strange to the many ; for these judge by what is outside, for that is all they can see.

## **Passages in the Doxographists referring to Anaxagoras**

Aet. Plac. i. 3; Dox. 279. Anaxagoras of Klazomenae declared that homoeomeries are the first principles of things. For he thought it most difficult to understand how anything should arise out of not-being, or perish into not-being. Certainly we take simple food of one kind, such as the bread of Demeter and we drink water ; and from this nourishment there are nurtured hair, veins, arteries, sinews, bones, and the other parts.

Since these arise we must acknowledge that in the nourishment that is taken are present all realities, and from them everything will grow. And in that nourishment there are parts productive of blood and of sinews and bones and the rest ; these are the parts that may be discovered by contemplation. For it is not necessary to perceive everything by sense, how that bread and water give rise to these things, but the parts may be discovered in them by contemplation.

From the fact that parts exist in the nourishment like the things that are generated, he called them homoeomeries, and declared that they are the first principles of things ; and he called the homoeomeries matter, but the active cause that arranges all things is mind. And he began thus: All things were together and mind arranged and disposed them. So we must assert that he associated an artificer with matter, 'Cf. iv.4; 1007 b 25.

i. 7; 299. Anaxagoras says that bodies are established according to first principles, and the mind of God arranged them and caused the generations of all things.

i. 7; 302. The mind that made the universe is God.

i. 14; 312. Anaxagoras : The homoeomeries are of many shapes,

i. 17 ; 315. Anaxagoras and Demokritos : The elements are mixed by juxtaposition

i. 24 ; 320. (See p. 241. i. 29; 326.) Anaxagoras and the Stoics : Cause is not evident to human reason ; for some things happen by necessity, and others by fate, and others by purpose, and others by chance, and others of their own accord,

i. 30 ; 826. Anaxagoras : Origination is at the same time composition and separation, that is, genesis and destruction.

Aet. Plac. ii. 1 ; 327. The universe is one. ii. 4 ; 831. The universe is perishable, ii. 8; 337.

Diogenes and Anaxagoras : After the universe arose and the animals were brought forth out of the earth, it tipped somehow of its own accord towards its south part, perhaps intentionally, in order that some parts of the universe might be inhabited and others uninhabited according as they are cold, or hot, or temperate,



ii. 13 ; 341. Anaxagoras : The surrounding aether is of a fiery nature, and catching up stones from the earth by the power of its rotation and setting them on fire it has made them into stars,

ii. 16 ; 345. Anaxagoras et al.: All the stars move from east to west.

ii. 21; 351. Anaxagoras : The sun is many times as large as the Peloponnesos.

ii. 23; 352. Anaxagoras : The solstices are due to a repulsion of the air towards the south, for the sun compressed it and by condensation made it strong

ii. 25; 356. Anaxagoras and Demokritos; The moon is a fiery solid body having in itself plains and mountains and valleys,

ii. 29; 360. Anaxagoras, as Theophrastos says, attributed eclipses to bodies below the moon which sometimes come in front of it.

1 ii. 30; 361. Anaxagoras says that the unevenness of the composition (the surface of the moon) is due to the mixture of earthy matter with cold, since the moon has some high places and some low hollows and the dark stuff is mingled with the fiery, the result of which is the shadowy appearance; whence it is called a false-shining star.

Aet. Plac. iii. 1; 365. Anaxagoras : The shadow of the earth falls along this part of the heaven (the milky way), when the sun is beneath the earth and does not shed light on all things,

iii. 2 ; 366. Anaxagoras and Demokritos : (Comets etc.) are due to the conjunction of two or more stars, and the combination of their rays. 367.

1Cf. Theophr. Phys. op. Frag. 19 ; Dox. 493. The so-called shooting stars come darting down from the aether like sparks, and so they are immediately extinguished,

iii. 3; 368. Anaxagoras : When the hot falls on the cold (that is, aether on air), It produces thunder by the noise it makes, and lightning by the colour on the black of the cloud, and the thunderbolt by the mass and amount of the light, and the typhoon by the more material fire, and the fiery whirlwind by the fire mixed with cloud.

iii. 4; 371. Anaxagoras : Clouds and snow are formed in somewhat the same manner ; and hail is formed when, already cooled by its descent earthwards, it is thrust forth from frozen clouds ; and it is made round,

iii. 5; 373. Anaxagoras : The rainbow is a reflection of the, Sun's brightness from thick cloud, and it is always set opposite the star which gives rise to the reflection. And in a similar way he accounts for the so-called parhelia, which take place along the Pontos.

iii. 15 ; 379. Anaxagoras : Earthquakes take place when the air falls on the thickness of the earth's surface in a sheltered place, and if shakes the surrounding medium and makes it tremble, because it is unable to effect a separation,

iii. 16 ; 381. Anaxagoras : When the moisture which was at first gathered in pools was burned all around by the revolution of the sun, and the fresh water was evaporated into saltness and bitterness, the rest (of the sea) remained.

Aet. Plac. iv. 1; 385. Anaxagoras : The Nile comes from the snow in Ethiopia which melts in summer and freezes in winter,

iv. 3 ; 387. Anaxagoras et al : The soul is of the nature of air

iv. 5, 392. The intelligence is gathered in the breast. The soul is imperishable,

iv. 9; 396. Anaxagoras et al.: Sensations are deceptive.

397. Sensations arise part by part according to the symmetry of the pores, each particular object of sense corresponding to a particular sense (organ).

iv. 19 ; 409. Anaxagoras : Sound arises when wind falls on solid air, and by the return of the blow which is dealt to the ear ; so that what is called an echo takes place.

Aet. Plac. v. 7 ; 420. Anaxagoras, Parmenides : Males are conceived when seed from the right side enters the right side of the womb, or seed from the left side the left side of the womb ; but if its course is changed females are born.

v. 19 ; 430. As Anaxagoras and Euripides say : Nothing of what is born dies, but one thing separated from one part and added to another produces different forms,

v. 20 ; 432. Anaxagoras : All animals have reason that shows itself in activity, but they do not have a sort of intelligence that receives impressions, which may be called the interpreter of intelligence

v. 25 ; 437. Anaxagoras : Sleep is due to a weariness of the body's energy ; for it is an experience of the body, not of the soul ; and death is the separation of the soul from the body.

Theophr. Phys. opin. Fr. 4 ; Dox. 479. Theophrastos says that the teaching of Anaxagoras is much like that of Anaximandros ; for Anaxagoras says that in the separation of the infinite, things that are akin come together, and whatever gold there is in the all becomes gold, and whatever earth becomes earth, and in like manner each of the other things, not as though they came into being, but as though they were existing before, and Anaxagoras postulated intelligence as the cause of motion and of coming into being, and when this caused separation worlds were produced and other objects sprang forth.

He might seem, he says, to make the material causes of things taking place thus infinite, but the cause of motion and of coming into being one. But if one were to assume that the mixture of all things were one nature undefined in form and in amount, which he seems to mean, it follows that he speaks of two first principles, the nature of the infinite and intelligence, so that he appears to treat all the material elements in much the same manner as Anaximandros.

Phys. op. Fr. 19 ; Vox. 493. See Aet. ii. 29; Vox. 360, translated above, p. 255.

Phys. opin. Fr. 28 ; Dox. 495. And the third opinion about the sea is that the water which filters and strains through the earth becomes salt because the earth has such flavours in it ; and they point out as a proof of this that salt and saltpetre are dug up out of the earth, and there are bitter flavours at many places in the earth, Anaxagoras and Metrodoros came to be of this opinion.

Theophr. de sens. 27 ; Dox. 507. Anaxagoras held that sensation takes place by opposite qualities ; for likeis not affected by like. And he attempts to enumerate things one by one. For seeing is a reflection in the pupil, and objects are not reflected in the like, but in the opposite and for many creatures there is a difference of colour in the daytime, and for others at night, so that at that time they are sharpsighted. But in general the night is more of the same colour as the eyes. And the reflection takes place in the daytime, since light is the cause of reflection but that colour which prevails the more is reflected in its opposite.

In the same manner both touch and taste discern ; for what is equally warm or equally cold does not produce warm or cold when it approaches its like, nor yet do men recognise sweet or bitter by these qualities in themselves, but they perceive the cold by the warm, the drinkable water by the salt, the

sweet by the bitter, according as each quality is absent ; for all things are existing in us.

So also smell and hearing take place, the one in connection with breathing, the other by the penetration of sound into the brain ; for the surrounding bone against which the sound strikes is hollow and every sensation is attended with pain, which would seem to follow from the fundamental thesis ; for every unlike thing by touching produces distress. And this is evident both in the duration and in the excessive intensity of the sensations. For both bright colours and very loud sounds occasion pain, and men are not able to bear them for any long time. And the larger animals have the more acute sensations, for sensation is simply a matter of size. For animals that have large, pure, and bright eyes see large things afar off, but of those that have small eyes the opposite is true. And the same holds true of hearing, for large ears hear large sounds afar off, smaller ones escape their notice, and small ears hear small sounds near at hand. And the same is true of smell ; for the thin air has the stronger odour, since warm and rarefied air has an odour. And when a large animal breathes, it draws in the thick with the rarefied, but the small animal only the rarefied, so that large animals have a better sense of smell. For an odour near at hand is stronger than one far off, because that is thicker, and what is scattered is weakened. It comes about to this, large animals do not perceive the thin air, and small animals do not perceive the thick air.

Cic. deNat. Deor. i. 11 ; Dox. 532. Whence Anaxagoras, who was a pupil of Anaximenes, first taught that the separation and character of all things were determined and arranged by the power and reason of infinite mind ; but in this he fails to see that no motion can be connected with and contiguous to infinite sensation, and that no sensation at all can exist, by which nature as a whole can feel a shock. Wherefore if he meant that mind is as it were some sort of living being, there will be something inside of it from which that living being is determined. But what could be inside of mind ? So the living being would be joined with an external body. But since this is not satisfactory, and mind is 'open and simple,' joined with nothing by means of which it can feel, he seems to go beyond the scope of our intelligence.

Hipp. Phil. 8 ; Dox. 561. After him came Anaxagoras of Klazomenae, son of Hegesiboulos. He said that the first principle of the all is mind and matter, mind the active first principle, and matter the passive. For when all things were together, mind entered and disposed them. The material first principles are infinite, and the smaller ones of these he calls infinite. And all things partake of motion when they are moved by mind and like things come together. And objects in the heavens have been ordered by their circular motion. The dense and the moist and the dark and the cold and heavy things come together into the midst, and the earth consists of these

when they are solidified; but the opposite to these, the warm, the bright, the dry, and the light move out beyond the aether.

The earth is flat in form, and keeps its place in the heavens because of its size and because there is no void; and on this account the air by its strength holds up the earth, which rides on the air. And the sea arose from the moisture on the earth, both of the waters which have fallen after being evaporated, and of the rivers that flow down into it. 1 And the rivers get their substance from the clouds and from the waters that are in the earth. For the earth is hollow and has water in the hollow places. And the Nile increases in summer because waters flow down into it from snows far the north.

The sun and moon and the stars are rocks are borne about by the revolution of the aether. And sun and moon and certain other bodies moving with them, but invisible to us, are below the stars. Men do not feel the warmth of the stars, because they are so far away from the earth ; and they are not warm in the same way that the sun is, because they are in a colder region. The moon is below the sun and nearer us.

The sun is larger than the Peloponnesos. The moon does not have its own light, but light from the sun. The revolution of the stars takes them beneath the earth. The moon is eclipsed when the earth goes in front of it, and sometimes when the bodies beneath the moon go in front of it ; and the sun is eclipsed when the new moon goes in front of it. And the solstices are occasioned because the sun and the moon are thrust aside by the air and the moon changes its course frequently because it is not able to master the cold. He first determined the matter of the moon's phases. He said the moon is made of earth and has plains and valleys in it.

The milky way is a reflection of the light of the stars which do not get their light from the sun. The stars which move across the heavens, darting down like sparks, are due to the motion of the sphere, and winds arise when the air is rarefied by the sun, and when objects are set on fire and moving towards the sphere are borne away. Thunders and lightnings arise from heat striking the clouds.

Earthquakes arise from the air above striking that which is beneath the earth ; for when this is set in motion, the earth which rides on it is tossed about by it. And animals arose in the first place from moisture, and afterwards one from another ; and males arise when the seed that is separated from the right side becomes attached to the right side of the womb, and females when the opposite is the case. He was in his prime in the first year of the eighty- eighth Olympiad, at the time when it is said Plato was born. They say that he became endowed with knowledge of the future.

Herm. I. G. P. 6; Dox. 652. Anaxagoras takes me aside and instructs me as follows : Mind is the first principle of all things, and it is the cause and master of all, and it provides arrangement for what is disarranged, and separation for what has been mixed, and an orderly universe for what was disorderly.

*Source:* The First Philosophers of Greece (*Anaxagoras*) an Edition and translation of the remaining fragments of the Pre-Socratic Philosophers, together with a translation of the more important accounts of their opinions contained in the early epitomes of their works. *Arthur Fairbanks, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons 1898.*

# DIOGENES OF SINOPE

**Diogenes of Sinope ( Διογένης ὁ Σινωπεύς  
Diogenes ho Sinopeus), Greek philosopher and one  
of the founders of Cynic philosophy.  
Known as Diogenes the Cynic**

The eccentric Diogenes was born in the Greek colony of Sinope on the south coast of the Black Sea, either in 412 BCE or 404 BCE. Nothing is known about his early life except that his father Hicesias was a banker.

It seems likely that Diogenes was also enrolled into the banking business aiding his father at some.

Hicesias and Diogenes became embroiled in a scandal involving the adulteration or defacement of the currency, and Diogenes was exiled from the city. This story appears to have been confirmed by archaeological finds of a large number of defaced coins (smashed with a large chisel stamp) discovered at Sinope dating from the middle of the 4th century BCE, and other coins of the time bear the name of Hicesias as the official who minted them.

The reasons for the defacement of the coinage are unclear, although Sinope was being disputed between pro-Persian and pro-Greek factions in the 4th century, and there may have been political rather than financial motives behind the act. One story alleges that Diogenes consulted the Oracle at Delphi asking advice, and was told that he should "deface the currency," Diogenes, realizing that the oracle meant that he should deface the political currency *rather than actual coins*, travelled to Athens and made it his life's goal to deface established customs and values. He intellectually humiliated Plato and was the only pupil ever accepted by Antisthenes, whom he saw as the true heir of Socrates. Diogenes taught his philosophy of cynicism to Crates who taught it to Zeno who fashioned it into the school of Stoicism, one of the most enduring branches of Greek philosophy. Diogenes of Sinope was always controversial.

After being exiled from Sinope for defacing the currency, he moved to Athens and declared himself a cosmopolitan (in flagrance of the prevailing city-state system) and became a disciple of Antisthenes. He made a virtue of extreme poverty, famously begging for a living and sleeping in a large tub in the marketplace. He became notorious for his provocative behaviour and philosophical stunts such as carrying a lamp in the daytime, claiming to be looking for an honest man. He regularly tangled with Plato, disputing his interpretation of Socrates and sabotaging his lectures. After being captured by pirates and sold into slavery, Diogenes eventually settled in Corinth, where he was befriended by Alexander.

He was a staunch admirer of Hercules and believed that virtue was better revealed in action and not theory. His life was a relentless campaign to debunk the social values and institutions of what he saw as a corrupt society. None of his many writings have survived, but details of his life come in the form of anecdotes (*chreia*), especially from Diogenes Laërtius, in his book *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*.

## Athens

And when Diogenes arrived in Athens he attached himself to Antisthenes; but as he repelled him, because he admitted no one; he at last forced his way to him by his pertinacity.

Once, when he raised his stick at him, he put his head under it, and said, "Strike, for you will not find any stick hard enough to drive me away as long as you continue to speak." And from this time forth he was one of his pupils.

In Athens, Diogenes' mission became the metaphorical adulterating/defacing of the "coinage" of custom. Custom, he alleged, was the false coin of human morality.

Instead of being troubled by what is really evil, some people however think it is merely conventionally evil. This distinction between nature ("physis") and custom ("nomos") is a favorite theme of ancient Greek philosophy, and one that Plato takes up in *The Republic*, in the legend of the Ring of Gyges.

Diogenes is alleged to have gone to Athens with a slave named Manes who abandoned him shortly thereafter. With characteristic humour,



Diogenes dismissed his ill fortune by saying, "If Manes can live without Diogenes, why not Diogenes without Manes?"

Diogenes would be consistent in making fun of such a relation of extreme dependency. He would particularly find the master, who could do nothing for himself, contemptibly helpless. We are told he was attracted by the ascetic teaching of Antisthenes, a student of Socrates, who (according to Plato) had been present at his death. Diogenes became Antisthenes' pupil, despite the brutality with which he was initially received. Whether the two ever really met is still uncertain but he rapidly surpassed his master both in reputation and in the austerity of his life. Unlike the other citizens of Athens, he avoided earthly pleasures. This attitude was grounded in a great disdain for what he perceived as the folly, pretense, vanity, social climbing, self-deception, and artificiality of much human conduct.

The stories told of Diogenes illustrate the logical consistency of his character. He inured himself to the vicissitudes of weather by living in a tub belonging to the temple of Cybele. He destroyed the single wooden bowl he possessed on seeing a peasant boy drink from the hollow of his hands. It was contrary to Athenian customs to eat within the marketplace, and still he would eat for, as he explained when rebuked, it was during the time he was in the marketplace that he felt hungry. )

## Corinth

According to a story which seems to have originated with Menippus of Gadara, Diogenes was once on a voyage to Aegina, he was captured by pirates and sold as a slave in Crete to a Corinthian named Xenaiades.

Asked what Trade he followed, he replied that he knew no trade but that of governing men, and that he wished to be sold to a man who needed a master.

As tutor to Xenaiades' two sons, *he lived in Corinth for the rest of his life*, which he devoted entirely to preaching the doctrines of virtuous self-control. At the Isthmian Games, he lectured to large audiences. It may have been at one of these festivals that Alexander the Great went to meet Diogenes because he was impressed that the philosopher was so highly admired despite having neither money nor power. They reportedly had a long conversation about several topics. The accounts of Plutarch and Diogenes Laërtius recount that they exchanged only a few words: while

Diogenes was relaxing in the sunlight in the morning, Alexander, thrilled to meet the famous philosopher, asked if there was any favour he might do for him. Diogenes replied, "Yes: Stand out of my sunlight.". Alexander still declared, "If I were not Alexander, then I should wish to be Diogenes." In another account of the conversation, Alexander found the philosopher looking attentively at a pile of human bones. Diogenes explained, "I am searching for the bones of your father but cannot distinguish them from those of a slave."

Although most of the stories about him living in a tub are located in Athens, there are some accounts of him living in a tub near the Craneum gymnasium in Corinth: A report that Philip was marching on the town had thrown all Corinth into a bustle; one was furbishing his arms, another wheeling stones, a third patching the wall, a fourth strengthening a battlement, every one making himself useful somehow or other. Diogenes having nothing to do, of course no one thought of giving him a job, was moved by the sight to gather up his philosopher's cloak and begin rolling his tub-dwelling energetically up and down the Craneum; an acquaintance asked for, and got, the explanation: "I do not want to be thought the only idler in such a busy multitude; I am rolling my tub to be like the rest." *Source-Alexander the Great visits Diogenes at Corinth by W. Matthews (1914).*

## Death

There are numerous accounts of Diogenes' death. He is alleged variously to have held his breath to have become ill from eating raw octopus; or to have suffered an infected dog bite.

When asked how he wished to be buried, he left instructions to be thrown outside the city wall so wild animals could feast on his body. When asked if he minded this, he said, "Not at all, as long as you provide me with a stick to chase the creatures away!" When asked how he could use the stick since he would lack awareness, he replied "If I lack awareness, then why should I care what happens to me when I am dead?" At the end, Diogenes made fun of people's excessive concern with the "proper" treatment of the dead. The Corinthians erected to his memory a pillar on which rested a dog of Parian marble.

Along with Antisthenes and Crates of Thebes, Diogenes is considered one of the founders of Cynicism. The ideas of Diogenes, like those of most

other Cynics, must be arrived at indirectly. No writings of Diogenes survived even though he is reported to have authored over ten books, a volume of letters and seven tragedies. Cynic ideas are inseparable from Cynic practice; therefore what we know about Diogenes is contained in anecdotes concerning his life and sayings attributed to him in a number of scattered classical sources. None of these sources is definitive and all contribute to a "tradition" that should not be confused with factual biography.

It is not known, for example, whether Diogenes made a virtue of naked survival out of necessity or whether he really preferred poverty and homelessness. In any case, Diogenes did "make a case" for benefits of a reduced lifestyle. He apparently proved to the satisfaction of the Stoics who came after him that happiness has nothing whatever to do with a person's material circumstances. The Stoics developed this theme, but made it benign. Epictetus, for example, preached the virtue of modesty and inoffensiveness, but maintained that misfortune is good for the development of strong character.

Diogenes maintained that all the artificial growths of society were incompatible with happiness and that morality implies a return to the simplicity of nature. So great was his austerity and simplicity that the Stoics would later claim him to be a wise man or "sophos". In his words, "Humans have complicated every simple gift of the gods." Although Socrates had previously identified himself as belonging to the world, rather than a city, Diogenes is credited with the first known use of the word "cosmopolitan". When he was asked where he came from, he replied, "I am a citizen of the world (*cosmopolites*)" This was a radical claim in a world where a man's identity was intimately tied to his citizenship in a particular city state. An exile and an outcast, a man with no social identity, Diogenes made a mark on his contemporaries. His story, however uncertain the details, continues to fascinate students of human nature.

Despite having apparently nothing but disdain for Plato and his abstract philosophy, Diogenes bears striking resemblance to the character of Socrates, who had professed a love of Virtue and an indifference to wealth, together with a disdain for general opinion. These aspects of Socrates' thought, which formed only a minor part of Plato's philosophy, became the central inspiration for another of Socrates' pupils, Antisthenes.

Diogenes shared Socrates' belief that he could function as doctor to men's souls and improve them morally, while at the same time holding contempt for their obtuseness. Plato once described Diogenes as "a Socrates gone mad."

## Diogenes the Dog

Many anecdotes of Diogenes refer to his dog-like behavior, and his praise of a dog's virtues. It is not known whether Diogenes was insulted with the epithet "doggish" and made a virtue of it, or whether he first took up the dog theme himself. The modern terms *cynic* and *cynical* derive from the Greek word *kynikos*, the adjective form of *kynon*, meaning dog. *Diogenes believed human beings live artificially and hypocritically and would do well to study the dog.* Besides performing natural bodily functions in public without unease, a dog will eat anything, and make no fuss about where to sleep. Dogs live in the present without anxiety, and have no use for the pretensions of abstract philosophy.

In addition to these virtues, dogs are thought to know instinctively who is friend and who is foe. Unlike human beings who either dupe others or are duped, dogs will give an honest bark at the truth. Diogenes stated that "*other dogs bite their enemies, I bite my friends to save them.*"

The term "Cynic" itself derives from the Greek word κυνικός, *kynikos*, "dog-like" and that from κύων, *kyôn*, "dog" (genitive: *kynos*) One explanation offered in ancient times for why the Cynics were called *dogs* was because Antisthenes taught in the Cynosarges gymnasium at Athens. The word *Cynosarges* means the place of the *white dog*. Later Cynics also sought to turn the word to their advantage, as a later commentator explained: There are four reasons why the *Cynics* are so named. First because of the *indifference* of their way of life, for they make a cult of indifference and, like dogs, eat and make love in public, go barefoot, and sleep in tubs and at crossroads. The second reason is that the dog is a shameless animal, and they make a cult of shamelessness, not as being beneath modesty, but as superior to it. The third reason is that the dog is a good guard, and they guard the tenets of their philosophy. The fourth reason is that the dog is a discriminating animal which can distinguish between its friends and enemies. So do they recognize as friends those who are suited to philosophy, and receive them kindly, while those unfitted they drive away, like dogs, by barking at them.

As noted (see Death), Diogenes' association with dogs was memorialized by the Corinthians, who erected to his memory a pillar on which rested a dog of Parian marble

## Diogenes Syndrome

Diogenes' name has been applied to a behavioural disorder characterised by involuntary self-neglect and hoarding. The disorder afflicts the elderly and has no relation to Diogenes' deliberate Herculean rejection of material comfort.

He was very violent in expressing his haughty disdain of others. He said that the *scholê* (school) of Euclides was *cholê* (gall). And he used to call Plato's *diatribê* (discussions) *katatribê* (disguise).

It was also a saying of his that the Dionysian games were a great marvel to fools; and that the demagogues were the ministers of the multitude. He used likewise to say, that when in the course of his life he beheld pilots, and physicians, and philosophers, he thought man the wisest of all animals; but when again he beheld interpreters of dreams, and soothsayers, and those who listened to them, and men puffed up with glory or riches, then he thought that there was not a more foolish animal than man." Another of his sayings was, "that he thought a man ought oftener to provide himself with a reason than with a halter."

On one occasion, when he noticed Plato at a very costly entertainment tasting some olives, he said, "O you wise man! why, after having sailed to Sicily for the sake of such a feast, do you not now enjoy what you have before you?" And Plato replied, "By the Gods, Diogenes, while I was there I ate olives and all such things a great deal." Diogenes rejoined, "What then did you want to sail to Syracuse for? *Did not Attica at that time produce any olives?*"

But Favorinus, in his Universal History, tells this story of Aristippus; t another time he was eating dried figs, when Plato met him, and he said to him, "You may have a share of these;" and as he took some and ate them, he said, "I said that you might have a share of them, not that you might eat them all."

On one occasion Plato had invited some friends who had come to him from Dionysius to a banquet, and Diogenes trampled on his carpets, and

said, "Thus I trample on the empty pride of Plato;" and Plato made him answer, "How much arrogance are you displaying, O Diogenes! when you think that you are not arrogant at all."

But, as others tell the story, Diogenes said, "Thus I trample on the pride of Plato;" and that Plato rejoined, "With quite as much pride yourself, O Diogenes."

Sotion too, in his fourth book, states, that the Cynic made the following speech to Plato: Diogenes once asked him for some wine, and then for some dried figs; so he sent him an entire jar full; and Diogenes said to him, "Will you, if you are asked how many two and two make, answer twenty? In this way, you neither give with any reference to what you are asked for, nor do you answer with reference to the question put to you." He used also to ridicule him as an interminable talker.

When he was asked where in Greece he saw virtuous men; "Men," said he, "nowhere; but I see good boys in Lacedaemon." On one occasion, when no one came to listen to him while he was discoursing seriously, he began to whistle. And then when people flocked round him, he reproached them for coming with eagerness to folly, but being lazy and indifferent about good things. One of his frequent sayings was, "That men contended with one another in punching and kicking, but that no one showed any emulation in the pursuit of virtue."

He used to express his astonishment at the grammarians for being desirous to learn everything about the misfortunes of Ulysses, and being ignorant of their own.

He used also to say, "That the musicians fitted the strings to the lyre properly, but left all the habits of their soul ill-arranged." and, "That mathematicians kept their eyes fixed on the sun and moon, and overlooked what was under their feet."

"That orators were anxious to speak justly, but not at all about acting so." Also, "That misers blamed money, but were preposterously fond of it." He often condemned those who praise the just for being superior to money, but who at the same time are eager themselves for great riches. He was also very indignant at seeing men sacrifice to the Gods to procure good health, and yet at the sacrifice eating in a manner injurious to health.

He often expressed his surprise at slaves, who, seeing their masters eating in a gluttonous manner, still do not themselves lay hands on any of the eatables. He would frequently praise those who were about to marry, and yet did not marry; or who were about to take a voyage, and yet did not take a voyage; or who were about to engage in affairs of state, and did not do so; and those who were about to rear children, yet did not rear any; and those who were preparing to take up their abode with princes, and yet did not take it up.

One of his sayings was, "That one ought to hold out one's hand to a friend without closing the fingers." Hermippus, in his *Sale of Diogenes*, says that he was taken prisoner and put up to be sold, and asked what he could do; and he answered, "Govern men." And so he bade the crier "give notice that if any one wants to purchase a master, there is one here for him."

When he was ordered not to sit down; "It makes no difference," said he, "for fish are sold, be where they may."

He used to say, that he wondered at men always ringing a dish or jar before buying it, but being content to judge of a man by his look alone. When Xenocrates bought him, he said to him that he ought to obey him even though he was his slave; for that a physician or a pilot would find men to obey them even though they might be slaves.

Eubulus says, in his essay entitled, *The Sale of Diogenes*, that he taught the children of Xenocrates, after their other lessons, to ride, and shoot, and sling, and dart. And then in the Gymnasium he did not permit the trainer to exercise them after the fashion of athletes, but exercised them himself to just the degree sufficient to give them a good colour and good health. And the boys retained in their memory many sentences of poets and prose writers, and of Diogenes himself; and he used to give them a concise statement of everything in order to strengthen their memory; and at home he used to teach them to wait upon themselves, contenting themselves with plain food, and drinking water. And he accustomed them to cut their hair close, and to eschew ornament, and to go without tunics or shoes, and to keep silent, looking at nothing except themselves as they walked along. He used, also to take them out hunting; and they paid the greatest attention and respect to Diogenes himself, and spoke well of him to their parents.

Eubulus also affirms, that he grew old in the household of Xenocrates, and that when he died he was buried by his sons. And that while he was living

with him, Xeniadēs once asked him how he should bury him; and he said, "On my face;" and when he was asked why, he said, "Because, in a little while, everything will be turned upside down." And he said this because the Macedonians were already attaining power, and becoming a mighty people from having been very inconsiderable. Once, when a man had conducted him into a magnificent house, and had told him that he must not spit, after hawking a little, he spit in his face, saying that he could not find a worse place.

*Some tell this story of Aristippus.* Once, he called out, "Holloa, men." And when some people gathered round him in consequence he drove them away with his stick, saying, "I called men, and not dregs." This anecdote I have derived from Hecaton, in the first book of his *Apophthegms*. They also relate that Alexander said that if he had not been Alexander, he should have liked to be Diogenes. He used to call *anapêroi* (cripples), not those who were dumb and blind, but those who had no wallet (*pêra*). On one occasion he went half shaved into an entertainment of young men, as Metrocles tells us in his *Apophthegms*, and so was beaten by them. And afterwards he wrote the names of all those who had beaten him on a white tablet, and went about with the tablet round his neck, so as to expose them to insult, as they were generally condemned and reproached for their conduct.

He used to say that he was the hound of those who were praised; but that none of those who praised them dared to go out hunting with him. A man once said to him, "I conquered men at the Pythian games:" on which he said, "I conquer men, but you only conquer slaves." When some people said to him, "You are an old man, and should rest for the remainder of your life;" "Why so?" replied he, "suppose I had run a long distance, ought I to stop when I was near the end, and not rather press on?" Once, when he was invited to a banquet, he said that he would not come: for that the day before no one had thanked him for coming. He used to go bare foot through the snow, and to do a number of other things which have been already mentioned. Once he attempted to eat raw meat, but he could not digest it. On one occasion he found Demosthenes, the orator, dining in an inn; and as he was slipping away, he said to him, "You will now be ever so much more in an inn."

Once, when some strangers wished to see Demosthenes, he stretched out his middle finger, and said, "This is the great demagogue of the Athenian people." When some one had dropped a loaf, and was ashamed to pick it



up again, he, wishing to give him a lesson, tied a cord round the neck of a bottle and dragged it all through the Ceramicus. He used to say, that he imitated the teachers of choruses, for that they spoke too loud in order that the rest might catch the proper tone.

Another of his sayings, was that most men were within a finger's breadth of being mad. If, then, any one were to walk along, stretching out his middle finger, he will seem to be mad; but if he puts out his fore finger, he will not be thought so. Another of his sayings was, that things of great value were often sold for nothing, and vice versa. Accordingly, that a statue would fetch three thousand drachmas, and a bushel of meal only two obols; and when Xenocrates had bought him, he said to him, "Come, do what you are ordered to." And when he said- "The streams of sacred rivers now Run backwards to their source!"

"Suppose," rejoined Diogenes, "you had been sick, and had bought a physician, could you refuse to be guided by him, and tell him "The streams of sacred rivers now run backwards to their source?"

Once a man came to him, and wished to study philosophy as his pupil; and he gave him a *saperda*<sup>3</sup> and made him follow him. And as he from shame threw it away and departed, he soon afterwards met him and, laughing, said to him, "A *saperda* has dissolved your friendship for me." But Diocles tells this story in the following manner; that when some one said to him, "Give me a commission, Diogenes," he carried him off, and gave him a halfpenny worth of cheese to carry. And as he refused to carry it, "See," said Diogenes, "a halfpenny worth of cheese has broken off our friendship."

On one occasion he saw a child drinking out of its hands, and so he threw away the cup which belonged to his wallet, saying, "That child has beaten me in simplicity." He also threw away his spoon, after seeing a boy, when he had broken his vessel, take up his lentils with a crust of bread. And he used to argue thus, - "Everything belongs to the gods; and wise men are the friends of the gods. All things are in common among friends; therefore everything belongs to wise men."

Once he saw a woman falling down before the Gods in an unbecoming attitude; he, wishing to cure her of her superstition, as Zoilus of Perga tells us, came up to her, and said, "Are you not afraid, O woman, to be in such an indecent attitude, when some God may be behind you, for every place is full of him?"

He consecrated a man to Aesculapius, who was to run up and beat all these who prostrated themselves with their faces to the ground; and he was in the habit of saying that the tragic curse had come upon him, for that he was houseless and citiless, a piteous exile from his dear native land; a wandering beggar, scraping a pittance poor from day to day.

And another of his sayings was that he opposed confidence to fortune, nature to law, and reason to suffering. Once, while he was sitting in the sun in the Craneum, Alexander was standing by, and said to him, "Ask any favour you choose of me." And he replied, "Cease to shade me from the sun." On one occasion a man was reading some long passages, and when he came to the end of the book and showed that there was nothing more written, "Be of good cheer, my friends," exclaimed Diogenes, "I see land." A man once proved to him syllogistically that he had horns, so he put his hand to his forehead and said, "I do not see them."

And in a similar manner he replied to one who had been asserting that there was no such thing as motion, by getting up and walking away. When a man was talking about the heavenly bodies and meteors, "Pray how many days," said he to him, "is it since you came down from heaven?" A profligate eunuch had written on his house, "Let no evil thing enter in." "Where," said Diogenes, "is the master of the house going?" After having anointed his feet with perfume, he said that the ointment from his head mounted up to heaven, and that from his feet up to his nose.

When the Athenians entreated him to be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, and said that in the shades below the initiated had the best seats; "It will," he replied, "be an absurd thing if Agesilaus and Epaminondas are to live in the mud, and some miserable wretches, who have been initiated, are to be in the islands of the blest." Some mice crept up to his table, and he said, "See, even Diogenes maintains his favourites." Once, when he was leaving the bath, and a man asked him whether many men were bathing, he said, "No;" but when a number of people came out, he confessed that there were a great many. When Plato called him a dog, he said, "Undoubtedly, for I have come back to those who sold me."

Plato defined man thus: "Man is a two-footed, featherless animal;" and was much praised for the definition; so Diogenes plucked a cock and brought it into his school, and said, "This is Plato's man." On which account this addition was made to the definition, "With broad flat nails." A man once asked him what was the proper time for supper, and he made

answer, "If you are a rich man, whenever you please; and if you are a poor man, whenever you can."

When he was at Megara he saw some sheep carefully covered over with skins, and the children running about naked; and so he said, "It is better at Megara to be a man's ram, than his son." A man once struck him with a beam, and then said, "Take care." "What," said he, "are you going to strike me again?" He used to say that the demagogues were the servants of the people; and garlands the blossoms of glory. Having lighted a candle in the day time, he said, "I am looking for a man." On one occasion he stood under a fountain, and as the bystanders were pitying him, Plato, who was present, said to them, "If you wish really to show your pity for him, come away;" intimating that he was only acting thus out of a desire for notoriety. Once, when a man had struck him with his fist, he said, "O Hercules, what a strange thing that, I should be walking about with a helmet on without knowing it!"

When Midias struck him with his fist and said, "There are three thousand drachmas for you;" the next day Diogenes took the cestus of a boxer and beat him soundly, and said, "There are three thousand drachmas for you."

When Lysias, the drug-seller, asked him whether he thought that there were any Gods: "How," said he, "can I help thinking so, when I consider you to be hated by them?" but some attribute this reply to Theodorus. Once he saw a man purifying himself by washing, and said to him, "Oh, wretched man, do not you know that as you cannot wash away blunders in grammar by purification, so, too, you can no more efface the errors of a life in that same manner?"

He used to say that men were wrong for complaining of fortune; for that they ask of the Gods what appear to be good things, not what are really so. And to those who were alarmed at dreams he said, that they did not regard what they do while they are awake but make a great fuss about what they fancy they see while they are asleep. Once, at the Olympic games when the herald proclaimed "Dioxippus is the conqueror of men;" he said, "He is the conqueror of slaves, I am the conqueror of men."

He was greatly beloved by the Athenians; accordingly, when a youth had broken his cask they beat him, and gave Diogenes another. And Dionysius the Stoic, says that after the battle of Chaeronea he was taken prisoner and brought to Philip; and being asked who he was replied, "A spy, to spy

upon your insatiability." And Philip marvelled at him and let him go. Once, when Alexander had sent a letter to Athens to Antipater, by the hands of a man named Athlias, he, being present, said, "Athlias from Athlius, by means of Athlias to Athlius."

When Perdikkas threatened that he would put him to death if he did not come to him, he replied, "That is nothing strange, for a scorpion or a tarantula could do as much: you had better threaten me that, if I kept away, you should be very happy." He used constantly to repeat with emphasis that an easy life had been given to man by the Gods, but that it had been overlaid by their seeking for honey, cheese-cakes, and unguents, and things of that sort. On which account he said to a man, who had his shoes put on by his servant, "You are not thoroughly happy, unless he also wipes your nose for you; and he will do this, if you are crippled in your hands."

On one occasion, when he had seen the hieromnemes leading off one of the stewards who had stolen a goblet, he said, "The great thieves are carrying off the little thief." At another time, seeing a young man throwing stones at a cross, he said, "Well done, you will be sure to reach the mark." Once, too, some boys got round him and said, "We are taking care that you do not bite us;" but he said, "Be of good cheer, my boys, a dog does not eat beef." He saw a man giving himself airs because he was clad in a lion's skin, and said to him, "Do not go on disgracing the garb of nature." When people were speaking of the happiness of Callisthenes, and saying what splendid treatment he received from Alexander, he replied, "The man then is wretched, for he is forced to breakfast and dine whenever Alexander chooses." When he was in want of money, he said that he reclaimed it from his friends and did not beg for it.

On one occasion he was working with his hands in the market-place, and said, "I wish I could rub my stomach in the same way, and so avoid hunger." When he saw a young man going with some satraps to supper, he dragged him away and led him off to his relations, and bade them take care of him. He was once addressed by a youth beautifully adorned, who asked him some question; and he refused to give him any answer, till he satisfied him whether he was a man or a woman. And on one occasion, when a youth was playing the cottabus in the bath, he said to him, "The better you do it, the worse you do it."

Once at a banquet, some of the guests threw him bones, as if he had been a dog; so he, as he went away, put up his leg against them as if he had been

a dog in reality. He used to call the orators, and all those who speak for fame **triganthrôpoi** (thrice men), instead of **trigathloi** (thrice miserable). He said that a rich but ignorant man, was like a sheep with a golden fleece.

When he saw a notice on the house of a profligate man, "To be sold." "I knew," said he, "that you who are so incessantly drunk, would soon vomit up your owner." To a young man who was complaining of the number of people who sought his acquaintance, he said, "Do not make such a parade of your vanity." Having been in a very dirty bath, he said, "I wonder where the people, who bathe here, clean themselves."

When all the company was blaming an indifferent harp-player, he alone praised him and being asked why he did so, he said, "Because, though he is such as he is, he plays the harp and does not steal." He saluted a harp player who was always left alone by his hearers, with, "Good morning, cock;" and when the man asked him, "Why so?" he said, "Because you, when you sing, make every one get up."

When a young man was one day making a display of himself, he, having filled the bosom of his robe with lupins, began to eat them; and when the multitude looked at him, he said, "that he marvelled at their leaving the young man to look at him."

And when a man, who was very superstitious, said to him, "With one blow I will break your head;" "And I," he replied, "with one sneeze will make you tremble." When Hegesias entreated him to lend him one of his books, he said, "You are a silly fellow, Hegesias, for you will not take painted figs, but real ones; and yet you overlook the genuine practice of virtue, and seek for what is merely written."

A man once reproached him with his banishment, and his answer was, "You wretched man, that is what made me a philosopher." And when, on another occasion, some one said to him, "The people of Sinope condemned you to banishment," he replied, "And I condemned them to remain where they were." Once he saw a man who had been victor at the Olympic games, feeding (**nemonta**) sheep, and he said to him, "You have soon come across my friend from the Olympic games, to the Nemean."

When he was asked why athletes are insensible to pain, he said, "Because they are built up of pork and beef." He once asked for a statue; and being questioned as to his reason for doing so, he said, "I am practising

disappointment." Once he was begging of some one (for he did this at first out of actual want), he said, "If you have given to any one else, give also to me; and if you have never given to any one, then begin with me."

On one occasion, he was asked by the tyrant, "What sort of brass was the best, for a statue?" and he replied, "That of which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton are made." When he was asked how Dionysius treats his friends, he said, "Like bags; those which are full he hangs up, and those which are empty he throws away."

A man who was lately married put an inscription on his house, "Hercules Callinicus, the son of Jupiter, lives here; let no evil enter." And so Diogenes wrote in addition, "An alliance is made after the war is over." He used to say that covetousness was the metropolis of all evils. Seeing on one occasion a profligate man in an inn eating olives, he said, "If you had dined thus, you would not have supped thus." One of his apophthegms was, that good men were the images of the Gods; another, that love was the business of those who had nothing to do.

When he was asked what was miserable in life, he answered, "An indigent old man." And when the question was put to him, what beast inflicts the worst bite, he said, "Of wild beasts the sycophant, and of tame animals the flatterer."

On one occasion he saw two Centaurs very badly painted; he said, "Which of the two is the worst?"<sup>7</sup> He used to say that a speech, the object of which was solely to please, was a honeyed halter. He called the belly, the Charybdis of life. Having heard once that Didymon the adulterer, had been caught in the fact, he said, "He deserves to be hung by his name."

When the question was put to him, why gold is of a pale colour, he said, "Because it has so many people plotting against it."

When he saw a woman in a litter, he said, "The cage is not suited to the animal." And seeing a runaway slave sitting on a well, he said, "My boy, take care you do not fall in." Another time, he saw a little boy who was a stealer of clothes from the baths, and said, "Are you going for unguents, (*aleimnation*), or for other garments (*all' himation*).

Seeing some women hanging on olive trees, he said, "I wish every tree bore similar fruit." At another time, he saw a clothes' stealer, and addressed him thus:

What moves thee, say, when sleep has clos'd the sight,  
To roam the silent fields in dead of night?  
Art thou some wretch by hopes of plunder led,  
Through heaps of carnage to despoil the dead.

When he was asked whether he had any girl or boy to wait on him, he said, "No." And as his questioner asked further, "If then you die, who will bury you?" He replied, "Whoever wants my house." Seeing a handsome youth sleeping without any protection, he nudged him, and said, "Wake up: Mix'd with the vulgar shall thy fate be found, Pierc'd in the back, a vile dishonest wound." And he addressed a man who was buying delicacies at a great expense: Not long, my son, will you on earth remain, If such your dealings.

When Plato was discoursing about his "ideas," and using the nouns "tableness" and "cupness;" "I, O Plato!" interrupted Diogenes, "see a table and a cup, but I see no tableness or cupness." Plato made answer, "That is natural enough, for you have eyes, by which a cup and a table are contemplated; but you have not intellect, by which tableness and cupness are seen."

On one occasion, he was asked by a certain person, "What sort of a man, O Diogenes, do you think Socrates?" and he said, "A madman." Another time, the question was put to him, when a man ought to marry? and his reply was, "Young men ought not to marry yet, and old men never ought to marry at all."

When asked what he would take to let a man give him a blow on the head?" he replied, "A helmet." Seeing a youth smartening himself up very carefully, he said to him, "If you are doing that for men, you are miserable; and if for women, you are profligate."

Once he saw a youth blushing, and addressed him, "Courage, my boy, that is the complexion of virtue." Having once listened to two lawyers, he condemned them both; saying, "That the one had stolen the thing in question, and that the other had not lost it."

When asked what wine he liked to drink, he said, "That which belongs to another," A man said to him one day, "Many people laugh at you." "But I," he replied, "am not laughed down."

When a man said to him, that it was a bad thing to live; "Not to live," said he, "but to live badly." When some people were advising him to make search for a slave who had run away," he said, "It would be a very absurd thing for Manes to be able to live without Diogenes, but for Diogenes not to be able to live without Manes."

When he was dining on olives, a cheese-cake was brought in, on which he threw the olive away, saying:

Keep well aloof, O stranger, from all tyrants.  
And presently he added :  
He drove the olive off (*mastixen d' elaan*).

When he was asked what sort of a dog he was, he replied, "When hungry, I am a dog of Melita; when satisfied, a Molossian; a sort which most of those who praise, do not like to take out hunting with them; because of the labour of keeping up with them; and in like manner, you cannot associate with me, from fear of the pain I give you." The question was put to him, whether wise men ate cheese-cakes, and he replied, "They eat everything, just as the rest of mankind."

When asked why people give to beggars and not to philosophers, he said, "Because they think it possible that they themselves may become lame and blind, but they do not expect ever to turn out philosophers." He once begged of a covetous man, and as he was slow to give, he said, "Man, I am asking you for something to maintain me (*eis trophên*) and not to bury me (*eis taphên*)."

When some one reproached him for having tampered with the coinage, he said, "There was a time when I was such a person as you are now; but there never was when you were such as I am now, and never will be." And to another person who reproached him on the same grounds, he said, "There were times when I did what I did not wish to, but that is not the case now."

When he went to Myndus, he saw some very large gates, but the city was a small one, and so he said "Oh men of Myndus, shut your gates, lest your city should steal out."



On one occasion, he saw a man who had been detected stealing purple, and so he said "A purple death, and mighty fate o'ertook him."

When Craterus entreated him to come and visit him, he said, "I would rather lick up salt at Athens, than enjoy a luxurious table with Craterus."

On one occasion, he met Anaximenes, the orator, who was a fat man, and thus accosted him; "Pray give us, who are poor, some of your belly; for by so doing you will be relieved yourself, and you will assist us."

And once, when he was discussing some point, Diogenes held up a piece of salt fish, and drew off the attention of his hearers; and as Anaximenes was indignant at this, he said, "See, one pennyworth of salt fish has put an end to the lecture of Anaximenes."

Being once reproached for eating in the market-place, he made answer, "I did, for it was in the market-place that I was hungry."

Some authors also attribute the following repartee to him. Plato saw him washing vegetables, and so, coming up to him, he quietly accosted him thus, "If you had paid court to Dionysius you would not have been washing vegetables." "And," he replied, with equal quietness, "if you had washed vegetables, you would never have paid court to Dionysius."

When a man said to him once, "Most people laugh at you;" "And very likely," he replied, "the asses laugh at them; but they do not regard the asses, neither do I regard them."

Once he saw a youth studying philosophy, and said to him, "Well done; inasmuch as you are leading those who admire your person to contemplate the beauty of your mind."

A certain person was admiring the offerings in the temple at Samothrace, and he said to him, "They would have been much more numerous, if those who were lost had offered them instead of those who were saved;" but some attribute this speech to Diagoras the Thelian.

Once he saw a handsome youth going to a banquet, and said to him, "You will come back worse (*cheirôn*);" and when he the next day after the banquet said to him, "I have left the banquet, and was no worse for it;" he replied, "You were not Chiron, but Eurytion."

He was begging once of a very ill-tempered man, and as he said to him, "If you can persuade me, I will give you something;" he replied, "If I could persuade you, I would beg you to hang yourself." He was on one occasion returning from Lacedaemon to Athens; and when some one asked him, "Whither are you going, and whence do you come?" he said, "I am going from the men's apartments to the women's."

Another time he was returning from the Olympic Games, and when some one asked him whether there had been a great multitude there, he said, "A great multitude, but very few men." He used to say that debauched men resembled figs growing on a precipice; the fruit of which is not tasted by men, but devoured by crows and vultures. When Phryne had dedicated a golden statue of Venus at Delphi, he wrote upon it, "From the profligacy of the Greeks."

Once Alexander the Great came and stood by him, and said, "I am Alexander, the great king." "And I," said he, "am Diogenes the dog." And when he was asked to what actions of his it was owing that he was called a dog, he said, "Because I fawn upon those who give me anything, and bark at those who give me nothing, and bite the rogues."

On one occasion he was gathering some of the fruit of a fig-tree, and when the man who was guarding it told him a man hung himself on this tree the other day, "I, then," said he, "will now purify it." Once he saw a man who had been a conqueror at the Olympic games looking very often at a courtesan; "Look " said he, "at that warlike ram, who is taken prisoner by the first girl he meets." One of his sayings was, that good-looking courtesans were like poisoned mead.

On one occasion he was eating his dinner in the marketplace, and the bystanders kept constantly calling out "Dog;" but he said, "It is you who are the dogs, who stand around me while I am at dinner." When two effeminate fellows were getting out of his way, he said, "Do not be afraid, a dog does not eat beetroot." Being once asked about a debauched boy, as to what country he came from, he said, "He is a Tegean."<sup>17</sup>

Seeing an unskilful wrestler professing to heal a man he said, "What are you about, are you in hopes now to overthrow those who formerly conquered you?"

On one occasion he saw the son of a courtesan throwing a stone at a crowd, and said to him, "Take care, lest you hit your father." When a boy showed him a sword that he had received from one to whom he had done some discreditable service, he told him, "The sword is a good sword, but the handle is infamous" and when some people were praising a man who had given him something, he said to them, "And do not you praise me who was worthy to receive it?"

He was asked by some one to give him back his cloak; but he replied, "If you gave it me, it is mine; and if you only lent it me, I am using it." A supposititious son (*hupoleimaios*) of somebody once said to him, that he had gold in his cloak; "No doubt," said he, "that is the very reason why I sleep with it under my head (*hupobēblēmenos*)."

When he was asked what advantage he had derived from philosophy, he replied, "If no other, at least this, that I am prepared for every kind of fortune." The question was put to him what countryman he was, and he replied, "A Citizen of the world" (*kosmopolitēs*). Some men were sacrificing to the Gods to prevail on them to send them sons, and he said, "And do you not sacrifice to procure sons of a particular character?" Once he was asking the president of a society for a contribution, and said to him: "Spoil all the rest, but keep your hands from Hector."

He used to say that courtesans were the queens of kings; for that they asked them for whatever they chose. When the Athenians had voted that Alexander was Bacchus, he said to them, "Vote, too, that I am Serapis." When a man reproached him for going into unclean places, he said, "The sun too penetrates into privies, but is not polluted by them."

When supping in a temple, as some dirty loaves were set before him, he took them up and threw them away, saying that nothing dirty ought to come into a temple; and when some one said to him, "You philosophize without being possessed of any knowledge," he said, "If I only pretend to wisdom, that is philosophizing."

A man once brought him a boy, and said that he was a very clever child, and one of an admirable disposition." "What, then," said Diogenes, "does he want of me?" He used to say, that those who utter virtuous sentiments but do not do them, are no better than harps, for that a harp has no hearing or feeling. Once he was going into a theatre while every one else was coming out of it; and when asked why he did so, "It is," said he, "what I

have been doing all my life." Once when he saw a young man putting on effeminate airs, he said to him, "Are you not ashamed to have worse plans for yourself than nature had for you? For she has made you a man, but you are trying to force yourself to be a woman."

When he saw an ignorant man tuning a psaltery, he said to him, "Are you not ashamed to be arranging proper sounds on a wooden instrument, and not arranging your soul to a proper life?" When a man said to him, "I am not calculated for philosophy," he said, "Why then do you live, if you have no desire to live properly?"

To a man who treated his father with contempt, he said, "Are you not ashamed to despise him to whom you owe it that you have it in your power to give yourself airs at all?" Seeing a handsome young man chattering in an unseemly manner, he said, "Are you not ashamed to draw a sword cut of lead out of a scabbard of ivory?"

Being once reproached for drinking in a vintner's shop, he said, "I have my hair cut, too, in a barber's." At another time, he was attacked for having accepted a cloak from Antipater, but he replied: "Refuse not thou to heed the gifts which from the mighty Gods proceed."

A man once struck him with a broom, and said, "Take care;" so he struck him in return with his staff, and said, "Take care."

He once said to a man who was addressing anxious entreaties to a courtesan, "What can you wish to obtain, you wretched man, that you had not better be disappointed in?"

Seeing a man reeking all over with unguents, he said to him, "Have a care, lest the fragrance of your head give a bad odour to your life." One of his sayings was, that servants serve their masters, and that wicked men are the slaves of their appetites.

Being asked why slaves were called *andrapoda*, he replied, "Because they have the feet of men (*tous podas andron*) and a soul such as you who are asking this question." He once asked a profligate fellow for a mina; and when he put the question to him, why he asked others for an obol, and him for a mina, he said, "Because I hope to get something from the others another time, but the Gods alone know whether I shall ever extract anything from you again."

Once he was reproached for asking favours, while Plato never asked for any; and he said "He asks as well as I do, but he does it bending his head, that no one else may hear."

One day he saw an unskilful archer shooting; so he went and sat down by the target, saying, "Now I shall be out of harm's way." He used to say, that those who were in love were disappointed in regard of the pleasure they expected. When he was asked whether death was an evil, he replied, "How can that be an evil which we do not feel when it is present?"

When Alexander was once standing by him, and saying, "Do not you fear me?" He replied, "No; for what are you, a good or an evil?" And as he said that he was good, "Who, then," said Diogenes, "fears the good?" He used to say, that education was, for the young sobriety, for the old comfort, for the poor riches, and for the rich an ornament."

When Didymus the adulterer was once trying to cure the eye of a young girl (*korês*), he said, "Take care, lest when you are curing the eye of the maiden, you do not hurt the pupil." A man once said to him, that his friends laid plots against him; "What then," said he, "are you to do, if you must look upon both your friends and enemies in the same light?"

On one occasion he was asked, what was the most excellent thing among men; and he said, "Freedom of speech."

He went once into a school, and saw many statues of the Muses, but very few pupils, and said, "Gods, and all my good schoolmasters, you have plenty of pupils." He was in the habit of doing everything in public, whether in respect of Venus or Ceres; and he used to put his conclusions in this way to people: "If there is nothing absurd in dining, then it is not absurd to dine in the market-place. But it is not absurd to dine, therefore it is not absurd to dine in the market-place." And as he was continually doing manual work in public, he said one day, "Would that by rubbing my belly I could get rid of hunger."

Other sayings also are attributed to him, which it would take a long time to enumerate, there is such a multiplicity of them.

He used to say, that there were two kinds of exercise: that, namely, of the mind and that of the body; and that the latter of these created in the mind such quick and agile phantasies at the time of its performance, as very much facilitated the practice of virtue; but that one was imperfect without

the other, since the health and vigour necessary for the practice of what is good, depend equally on both mind and body.

He used to allege as proofs of this, and of the ease which practice imparts to acts of virtue, that people could see that in the case of mere common working trades, and other employments of that kind, the artisans arrived at no inconsiderable accuracy by constant practice; and that any one may see how much one flute player, or one wrestler, is superior to another, by his own continued practice and that if these men transferred the same training to their minds they would not labour in a profitless or imperfect manner.

He used to say also, that there was nothing whatever in life which could be brought to perfection without practice, and that that alone was able to overcome every obstacle; that, therefore, as we ought to repudiate all useless toils, and to apply ourselves to useful labours and to live happily, we are only unhappy in consequence of most exceeding folly. For the very contempt of pleasure, if we only inure ourselves to it, is very pleasant; and just as they who are accustomed to live luxuriously, are brought very unwillingly to adopt the contrary system; so they who have been originally inured to that opposite system, feel a sort of pleasure in the contempt of pleasure.

This used to be the language which he held, and he used to show in practice, really altering men's habits, and deferring in all things rather to the principles of nature than to those of law; saying that he was adopting the same fashion of life as Hercules had, preferring nothing in the world to liberty; and saying that everything belonged to the wise, and advancing arguments such as I mentioned just above. For instance: every thing belongs to the Gods; and the Gods are friends to the wise; and all the property of friends is held in common; therefore everything belong to the wise.

He also argued about the law, that without it there is no possibility of a constitution being maintained; for without a city there can be nothing orderly, but a city is an orderly thing; and without a city there can be no law; therefore law is order. And he played in the same manner with the topics of noble birth, and reputation, and all things of that kind, saying that they were all veils, as it were, for wickedness; and that that was the only proper constitution which consisted in order.

Another of his doctrines was that all women ought to be possessed in common; and he said that marriage was a nullity, and that the proper way would be for every man to live with her whom he could persuade to agree with him.

And on the same principle he said, that all people's sons ought to belong to every one in common; and there was nothing intolerable in the idea of taking anything out of a temple, or eating any animal whatever, and that there was no impiety in tasting even human flesh; as is plain from the habits of foreign nations; and he said that this principle might be correctly extended to every case and every people for he said that in reality everything was a combination of all things. For that in bread there was meat, and in vegetables there was bread, and so there were some particles of all other bodies in everything, communicating by invisible passages and evaporating.

VII. And he explains this theory of his clearly in the Thyestes, if indeed the tragedies attributed to him are really his composition, and not rather the work of Philistus, of Aegina, his intimate friend, or of Pasiphon, the son of Lucian, who is stated by Favorinus, in his Universal History, to have written them after Diogenes' death.

VIII. Music and geometry, and astronomy, and all things of that kind, he neglected, as useless and unnecessary. But he was a man very happy in meeting arguments, as is plain from what we have already said.

IX. And he bore being sold with a most magnanimous spirit. For as he was sailing to Aegina, and was taken prisoner by some pirates, under the command of Scirpalus, he was carried off to Crete and sold; and when the Circe asked him what art he understood, he said, "That of governing men." And presently pointing out a Corinthian, very carefully dressed, (the same Xenides whom we have mentioned before), he said, "Sell me to that man; for he wants a master."

Accordingly Xenides bought him and carried him away to Corinth; and then he made him tutor of his sons, and committed to him the entire management of his house. And he behaved himself in every affair in such a manner, that Xenides, when looking over his property, said, "A good genius has come into my house." And Cleomenes, in his book which is called the Schoolmaster, says, that he wished to ransom all his relations, but that Diogenes told him that they were all fools; for that lions did not

become the slaves of those who kept them, but, on the contrary, those who maintained lions were their slaves. For that it was the part of a slave to fear, but that wild beasts were formidable to men.

X. And the man had the gift of persuasion in a wonderful degree; so that he could easily overcome any one by his arguments. Accordingly, it is said that an Aeginetan of the name of Onesicritus, having two sons, sent to Athens one of them, whose name was Androstenes, and that he, after having heard Diogenes lecture, remained there; and that after that, he sent the elder, Philiscus, who has been already mentioned, and that Philiscus was charmed in the same manner. And last of all, he came himself, and then he too remained, no less than his son, studying philosophy at the feet of Diogenes. So great a charm was there in the discourses of Diogenes. Another pupil of his was Phocion, who was surnamed the Good; and Stilpon, the Megarian, and a great many other men of eminence as statesmen.

XI. He is said to have died when he was nearly ninety years of age, but there are different accounts given of his death. For some say that he ate an ox's foot raw, and was in consequence seized with a bilious attack, of which he died; others, of whom Cercidas, a Megalopolitan or Cretan, is one, say that he died of holding his breath for several days; and Cercidas speaks thus of him in his Meliambics:

He, that Sinopian who bore the stick,  
Wore his cloak doubled, and in th' open air  
Dined without washing, would not bear with life  
A moment longer: but he shut his teeth,  
And held his breath. He truly was the son  
Of Jove, and a most heavenly-minded dog,

### **The Wise Diogenes**

Others say that he, while intending to distribute a polypus to his dogs, was bitten by them through the tendon of his foot, and so died. But his own greatest friends, as Antisthenes tells us in his Successions, rather sanction the story of his having died from holding his breath.

For he used to live in the Craneum, which was a Gymnasium at the gates of Corinth. And his friends came according to their custom, and found him with his head covered; and as they did not suppose that he was asleep, for he was not a man much subject to the influence of night or sleep, they



drew away his cloak from his face, and found him no longer breathing; and they thought that he had done this on purpose, wishing to escape the remaining portion of his life.

On this there was a quarrel, as they say, between his friends, as to who should bury him and they even came to blows; but when the elders and chief men of the city came there, they say that he was buried by them at the gate which leads to the Isthmus, And they placed over him a pillar, and on that a dog in Parian marble.

*And at a later period his fellow citizens honoured him with brazen statues, and put this inscription on them:*

E'en brass by lapse of time doth old become,  
 But there is no such time as shall efface,  
 Your lasting glory, wise Diogenes;  
 Since you alone did teach to men the art  
 Of a contented life: the surest path  
 To glory and a lasting happiness.  
 We ourselves have also written an epigram on him in the proceleusmatic  
 metre.  
 A. Tell me Diogenes, tell me true, I pray,  
 How did you die; what fate to Pluto bore you?  
 B. The savage bits of an envious dog did kill me.

Some, however, say that when he was dying, he ordered his friends to throw his corpse away without burying it, so that every beast might tear it, or else to throw it into a ditch, and sprinkle a little dust over it. And others say that his injunctions were, that he should be thrown into the Ilissus; that so he might be useful to his brethren. But Demetrius, in his treatise on Men of the Same Name, says that Diogenes died in Corinth the same day that Alexander died in Babylon. And he was already an old man, as early as the hundred and thirteenth Olympiad.

*XII. The following books are attributed to him.*

The dialogues entitled the Cephalion; the Ichthys; the Jackdaw; the Leopard; the People of the Athenians; the Republic; one called Moral Art; one on Wealth; one on Love; the Theodorus; the Hypsias; the Aristarchus; one on Death; a volume of Letters; seven Tragedies, the Helen, the Thyestes, the Hercules, the Achilles, the Medea, the Chrysippus, and the Oedipus.

But Sosicrates, in the first book of his Successions, and Satyrus, in the fourth book of his Lives, both assert that none of all these are the genuine composition of Diogenes. And Satyrus affirms that the tragedies are the work of Philiscus, the Aeginetan, a friend of Diogenes. But Sotion, in his seventh book, says that these are the only genuine works of Diogenes: a dialogue on Virtue; another on the Good; another on Love; the Beggar; the Solmaeus ; the Leopard; the Cassander; the Cephalion; and that the Aristarchus, the Sisyphus, the Ganymede, a volume of Apophthegms, and another of Letters, are all the work of Philiscus.

XIII. There were five persons of the name of Diogenes. The first a native of Apollonia, a natural philosopher; and the beginning of his treatise on Natural Philosophy is as follows: "It appears to me to be well for every one who commences any kind of philosophical treatise, to lay down some undeniable principle to start with." The second was a Sicymian, who wrote an account of Peloponnesus. The third was the man of whom we have been speaking. The fourth was a Stoic, a native of Seleucia, but usually called a Babylonian, from the proximity of Seleucia to Babylon. The fifth was a native of Tarsus, who wrote on the subject of some questions concerning poetry which he endeavours to solve.

XIV. Athenodorus, in the eighth book of his Conversations, says, that the philosopher always had a shining appearance, from his habit of anointing himself.

Source; *The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers, by Diogenes Laertius, Literally translated by C.D. Yonge. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853. Footnotes have been converted to endnotes.*

## ARATUS OF SOLI – PHANAENOMENA

The contents of Phaenomena, for Eudoxus' prose text was the basis for a poem of the same name by Aratus. Hipparchus quoted from the text of Eudoxus in his commentary on Aratus.

From Zeus let us begin; him do we mortals never leave unnamed; full of Zeus are all the streets and all the market-places of men; full is the sea and the havens thereof; always we all have need of Zeus. For we are also his offspring; and he in his kindness unto men giveth favourable signs and wakeneth the people to work, reminding them of livelihood.

He tells what time the soil is best for the labour of the ox and for the mattock, and what time the seasons are favourable both for the planting of trees and for casting all manner of seeds. For himself it was who set the signs in heaven, and marked out the constellations, and for the year devised what stars chiefly should give to men right signs of the seasons, to the end that all things might grow unfailingly.

Wherefore him do men ever worship first and last. Hail, O Father, mighty marvel, mighty blessing unto men. Hail to thee and to the Elder Race! Hail, ye Muses, right kindly, every one! But for me, too, in answer to my prayer direct all my lay, even as is meet, to tell the stars.

Note; Aratus of Soli , was a Greek poet who flourished in Macedonia in the early C.3rd BCE.. His only surviving work is the Phaenomena, a book describing the constellations and weather signs.

‘Phaenomena – Source - Callimachus, Hymns and Epigrams. Lycophron. Aratus. Translated by Mair, A. W. & G. R. Loeb Classical Library Volume 129. London: William Heinemann, 1921.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

### Greek: Διονύσιος Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀλικαρνασσεύς

Dionysios (60 BC–after 7 BC) was a Greek historian and teacher of rhetoric, who flourished during the reign of Caesar Augustus. He went to Rome after the termination of the civil wars, and spent twenty-two years in studying the Latin language and literature and preparing materials for his history. During this period he gave lessons in rhetoric, and enjoyed the society of many distinguished men. The date of his death is unknown. It is commonly supposed he is the ancestor of Aelius Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

His great work, entitled Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία (*Rhōmaikē archaiologia*, *Roman Antiquities*), embraced the history of Rome from the mythical period to the beginning of the *First Punic War*. It was divided into twenty books, of which the first nine remain entire, the tenth and eleventh are nearly complete, and the remaining books exist in fragments in the excerpts of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*<sup>1</sup> and an epitome discovered by *Angelo Mai* in a Milan manuscript.

The first three books of *Appian*, and *Plutarch's Life of Camillus* also embody much of Dionysius. His chief object was to reconcile the Greeks to the rule of *Rome*, by dilating upon the good qualities of their conquerors and also by arguing, using more ancient sources, that the Romans were genuine descendants (book 1,11) of the older Greeks. According to him, history is philosophy teaching by examples, and this idea he has carried out from the point of view of the Greek rhetorician. But he has carefully consulted the best authorities, and his work and that of *Livy* are the only connected and detailed extant accounts of early Roman history.

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<sup>1</sup> Constantine VII *Porphyrogennetos* or *Porphyrogenitus*, "the Purple-born" (Greek: Κωνσταντῖνος Ζ΄ Πορφυρογέννητος, *Kōnstantinos VII Porphyrogennētos*), (September 2, 905 – November 9, 959) was the son of the Byzantine emperor Leo VI also the nephew of the Emperor Alexander. Famous for his four descriptive books, *De Administrando Imperio*, *De Ceremoniis*, *De Thematibus* and *Vita Basilii*.

Dionysius was also the author of several rhetorical treatises, in which he shows that he has thoroughly studied the best Attic models:

*The Art of Rhetoric* (Τέχνη ῥητορική, *Téchne rhētorikē*), which is rather a collection of essays on the theory of rhetoric, incomplete, and certainly not all his work;

*The Arrangement of Words* (Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων, *Peri synthéseōs onomátōn*), treating of the combination of words according to the different styles of oratory;

*On Imitation* (Περὶ μιμήσεως, *Peri mimēseōs*), on the best models in the different kinds of literature and the way in which they are to be imitated—a fragmentary work;

*Commentaries on the Attic Orators* (Περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ῥητόρων, *Peri tōn Attikōn rhētōrōn*), which, however, only deal with *Lysias*, *Isaeus*, *Isocrates* and (by way of supplement) *Dinarchus*;

*On the Admirable Style of Demosthenes* (Περὶ λεκτικῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος, *Peri lektikēs Dēmosthénous deinótētos*); and

*On the Character of Thucydides* (Περὶ Θουκυδίδου χαρακτήρος, *Peri Thoukydídou charaktēros*).

The last two treatises are supplemented by letters to *Gn. Pompeius* and *Ammaeus* (two).

# PINDAR

Pindar was a Boeotian from of a noble family (The house of Aigeidai) born in the village Kynoskephalai, 522 BCE. He died at the age of 79, in 443 BCE.

Known for his triumphal odes to athletes. After his death he was remembered by the famous poet Pausanias. in the following lines..

'bade spare  
The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower  
Went to the ground.'

At Delphi they kept with reverence his iron chair, and the priest of Apollo cried nightly as he closed the temple, 'Let Pindar the poet go in unto the supper of the god' in Pindar we see a similarity to Aeschylus he implies a subordination to morality in both politics and religion. He ignores or flatly denies tales that bring discredit on the gods; he will only bow down to them when they have the virtues he respects in man.

Yet he, like Aeschylus and Sophokles, does bow down, sincerely and without hesitation, and that poets of their temper could do so was well indeed for poetry, inspired by the presence of mythology, 'the fair humanities of old religion,' and by the high aspirations in an age of moral and intellectual advance.

## **An Ode to, Arkesilas of Kyrene, Winner in the Chariot Race**

### **Introduction**

Pindar has made this victory of Arkesilas, King of the Hellenic colony of Kyrene in Africa, an occasion for telling the story of Jason's expedition with the Argonauts. The ostensible reason for introducing the story is that Kyrene had been colonised from the island of Thera by the descendants of the Argonaut Euphemos, according to the prophecy of Medea related at the beginning of the ode.

But Pindar had another reason. He wished to suggest an analogy between the relation of the Iolkian king Pelias to Jason and the relation of Arkesilas to his exiled kinsman Demophilos. Demophilos had been staying at Thebes, where Pindar wrote this ode, to be afterwards recited at Kyrene.

It was written B.C. 466, when Pindar was fifty-six years of age, and is *unsurpassed in his extant works*, or indeed by anything of this kind in all poetry.

### **For Arkesilas of Kyrene, Winner in the Chariot Race**

This day O Muse must thou tarry in a friend's house, the house of the king of Kyrene of goodly horses, that with Arkesilas at his triumph thou mayst swell the favourable gale of song, the due of Leto's children, and of Pytho.

For at Pytho of old she who sitteth beside theeagles of Zeus--nor was Apollo absent then--the priestess, spake this oracle, that Battos should found a power in fruitful Libya, that straightway departing from the holy isle he might lay the foundations of a city of goodly chariots upon a white breast of the swelling earth, and might fulfil in the seventeenth generation the word of Medea spoken at Thera, which of old the passionate child of Aietes, Queen of Colchians, breathed from immortal lips.

For on this wise spake she to the warrior Jason's god-begotten crew:

'Hearken O sons of high-hearted mortals and of gods.

Lo I say unto you that from this sea-lashed land the daughter of Epaphos<sup>1</sup> shall sometime be planted with a root to bring forth cities that shall possess the minds of men, where Zeus Ammon's shrine is builded. aAnd instead of short-finned dolphins they shall take to them fleet mares, and reins instead of oars shall they ply, and speed the whirlwind-footed car.

By that augury shall it come to pass that Thera shall be mother-city of mighty commonwealths, even the augury that once at the outpourings of the Tritonian lake Euphemos leaping from the prow took at the hands of a god who in the likeness of man tendered this present to the stranger of a clod of earth; and the Father Kronian Zeus confirmed it with a peal of thunder.

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<sup>1</sup> Libya. Epaphos was son of Zeus by Io.

What time he came suddenly upon them as they were hanging against the ship the bronze-fluked anchor,<sup>2</sup> fleet Argo's bridle; for now for twelve days had we borne from Ocean over long backs of desert-land our sea-ship, after that by my counsel we drew it up upon the shore.

Then came to us the solitary god, having put on the splendid semblance of a noble man; and he began friendly speech, such as well-doers use when they bid new-comers to the feast. But the plea of the sweet hope of home suffered us not to stay. Then he said that he was Eurypylos son of the earth-embracer, immortal Ennosides; and for that he was aware that we hastened to be gone, he straightway caught up of the chance earth at his feet a gift that he would fain bestow. Nor was the hero unheeding, but leaping on the shore and striking hand in hand he took to him the fateful clod.

But now I hear that it was washed down from the ship and departed into the sea with the salt spray of evening, following the watery deep. Yet verily often did I charge the labour-lightening servants that they should keep it safe, but they forgot: and now upon this island<sup>3</sup> is the imperishable seed of spacious Libya strown before the time appointed; for if the royal son<sup>4</sup> of Poseidon, lord of horses, whom Europa Tityos' child bare him on Kephisos' banks, had in his own home thrown it down beside the mouth of Hades<sup>5</sup> gulf, then in the fourth generation of his sons his seed would have taken that wide continent of Libya, for then they would have gone forth from mighty Lakedaimon, and from the Argive gulf, and from Mykenai.

But now he shall in wedlock with a stranger-wife raise up a chosen seed, who coming to this island with worship of their gods shall beget one to be lord of the misty plains.<sup>6</sup> Him sometime shall Phoibos in his golden house admonish by oracles, when in the latter days he shall go down into the inner shrine at Pytho, to bring a host in ships to the rich Nile-garden of the son of Kronos.<sup>7</sup> So ran Medea's rhythmic utterance, and motionless in silence the godlike heroes bowed their heads as they hearkened to the counsels of wisdom.

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<sup>2</sup> This incident happened during the wanderings of the Argonauts on their return with the Golden Fleece from Kolchis ( Colchis) to Iolkos.

<sup>3</sup> Thera.

<sup>4</sup> Euphemos.

<sup>5</sup> At Tainaros there was a cave supposed to be a mouth of Hades.

<sup>6</sup> *Of Libya.*

<sup>7</sup> The purport of this is: If Euphemos had taken the clod safely home to Tainaros in Lakonia, then his great-grandsons with emigrants from other Peloponnesian powers would have planted a colony.



Thee, happy son<sup>8</sup> of Polymnestos, did the oracle of the Delphian bee<sup>9</sup> approve with call unasked to be the man whereof the word was spoken, for thrice she bid thee hail and declared thee by decree of fate Kyrene's king, what time thou enquiredst what help should be from heaven for thy labouring speech. And verily even now long afterward, as in the bloom of rosy-blossomed spring, in the eighth descent from Battos the leaf of Arkesilas is green. To him Apollo and Pytho have given glory in the chariot-race at the hands of the Amphiktyons: him will I commend to the Muses, and withal the tale of the all-golden fleece; for this it was the Minyai sailed to seek when the god-given glories of their race began.

What power first drave them in the beginning to the quest? What perilous enterprise clenched them with strong nails of adamant?

There was an oracle of God which said that Pelias should die by force or by stern counsels of the proud sons of Aiolos, and there had come to him a prophecy that froze his cunning heart, spoken at the central stone of tree-clad mother Earth, that by every means he should keep safe guard against the man of one sandal, whensoever from a homestead on the hills he shall have come to the sunny land of glorious Iolkos, whether a stranger or a citizen he be.

So in the fullness of time he came, wielding two spears, a wondrous man; and the vesture that was upon him was twofold, the garb of the Magnetes' country close fitting to his splendid limbs, but above he wore a leopard-skin to turn the hissing showers; nor were the bright locks of his hair shorn from him but over all his back ran rippling down. Swiftly he went straight on, and took his stand, making trial of his dauntless soul, in the marketplace when the multitude was full.

Him they knew not; howbeit some one looking reverently on him would speak on this wise: 'Not Apollo surely is this, nor yet Aphrodite's lord of the brazen car; yea and in glistening Naxos died ere now, they say, the children of Iphimedeia, Otos and thou, bold king Ephialtes: moreover Tityos was the quarry of Artemis' swift arrow sped from her invincible quiver, warning men to touch only the loves within their power.'

They answering each to each thus talked; but thereon with headlong haste of mules and polished car came Pelias; and he was astonished when he gazed on the plain sign of the single sandal on the right foot. But he dissembled his fear within his heart and said unto him, 'What land, O stranger, dost thou claim to be thy country, and who of earth-born mortals

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<sup>8</sup> Battos.

<sup>9</sup> The priestess.

bare thee of her womb out of due time?<sup>10</sup> Tell me thy race and shame it not by hateful lies.'

And him with gentle words the other answered undismayed, 'I say to thee that I bear with me the wisdom of Cheiron, for from Chariklo and Philyra I come, from the cave where the Centaur's pure daughters reared me up, and now have I fulfilled twenty years among them without deceitful word or deed, and I am come home to seek the ancient honour of my father, held now in rule unlawful, which of old Zeus gave to the chief Aiolos and his children.

For I hear that Pelias yielding lawlessly to evil thoughts hath robbed it from my fathers whose right it was from the beginning; for they, when first I looked upon the light, fearing the violence of an injurious lord, made counterfeit of a dark funeral in the house as though I were dead, and amid the wailing of women sent me forth secretly in purple swathing-bands, when none but Night might know the way we went, and gave me to Cheiron the son of Kronos to be reared."

But of these things the chief ye know. Now therefore kind citizens show me plainly the house of my fathers who drave white horses; for it shall hardly be said that a son of Aison, born in the land, is come hither to a strange and alien soil. And Jason was the name whereby the divine Beast<sup>11</sup> spake to me.'

Thus he said, and when he had entered in, the eyes of his father knew him; and from his aged eyelids gushed forth tears, for his soul was glad within him when he beheld his son, fairest of men and goodliest altogether.

Then came to him both brothers, when they heard that Jason was come home, Pheres from hard by, leaving the fountain Hypereis, and out of Messena Amythaon, and quickly came Admetos and Melampos to welcome home their cousin. And at a common feast with gracious words Jason received them and made them friendly cheer, culling for five long nights and days the sacred flower of joyous life.

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<sup>10</sup> The epithet [Greek: polias] is impossible to explain satisfactorily. It was suggested by Prof. S.H. Butcher, that [Greek: chamaigenaes] may have been equivalent to [Greek: gaegenaes]. That Pelias may thus mean, half ironically, to imply that Jason's stature, garb and mien, as well as his mysteriously sudden appearance, argue him a son of one of the ancient giants who had been seen of old among men.

<sup>11</sup> The Kentaur Cheiron.

But on the sixth day he began grave speech, and set the whole matter before his kinsmen from the beginning, and they were of one mind with him.

Then quickly he rose up with them from their couches, and they came to Pelias' hall, and they made haste and entered and stood within.

And when he heard them the king himself came forth to them, even the son of Tyro of the lovely hair. Then Jason with gentle voice opened on him the stream of his soft speech, and laid foundation of wise words: 'Son of Poseidon of the Rock, too ready are the minds of mortal men to choose a guileful gain rather than righteousness, howbeit they travel ever to a stern reckoning. But thee and me it behoveth to give law to our desires, and to devise weal for the time to come.

Though thou knowest it yet will I tell thee, how that the same mother bare Kretheus and rash Salmoneus, and in the third generation we again were begotten and look upon the strength of the golden sun.

Now if there be enmity between kin, the Fates stand aloof and would fain hide the shame. Not with bronze-edged swords nor with javelins doth it besem us twain to divide our forefathers' great honour, nor needeth it, for lo! all sheep and tawny herds of kine I yield, and all the lands whereon thou feedest them, the spoil of my sires wherewith thou makest fat thy wealth.

That these things furnish forth thy house moveth me not greatly; but for the kingly sceptre and throne whereon the son of Kretheus sate of old and dealt justice to his chivalry, these without wrath between us yield to me, lest some new evil arise up therefrom.'

Thus he spake, and mildly also did Pelias make reply: 'I will be even as thou wilt, but now the sere of life alone remaineth to me, whereas the flower of thy youth is but just burgeoning; thou art able to take away the sin that maketh the powers beneath the earth wroth with us: for Phrixos biddeth us lay his ghost, and that we go to the house of Aietes, and bring thence the thick-fleeced hide of the ram, whereby of old he was delivered from the deep and from the impious weapons of his stepmother.

This message cometh to me in the voice of a strange dream: also I have sent to ask of the oracle at Kastalia whether it be worth the quest, and the oracle chargeth me straightway to send a ship on the sacred mission. This deed do thou offer me to do, and I swear to give thee up the sway and kingly rule. Let Zeus the ancestral god of thee and me be witness of my oath and stablish it surely in thine eyes.'

So they made this covenant and parted; but Jason straightway bade heralds to make known everywhere that a sailing was toward. And quickly came three sons of Zeus, men unwearied in battle, whose mothers were Alkmene and Leto of the glancing eyes,<sup>12</sup> and two tall-crested men of valour, children of the Earth-shaker, whose honour was perfect as their might, from Pylos and from farthest Tainaros: hereby was the excellence of their fame established--even Euphemos' fame, and thine, wide-ruling Periklymenos. And at Apollo's bidding came the minstrel father of song, Orpheus of fair renown.

And Hermes of the golden staff sent two sons to the toilsome task, Echion and Eurytos in the joy of their youth; swiftly they came, even from their dwelling at the foot of Pangaïos: and willingly and with glad heart their father Boreas, king of winds, harnessed Zetes and Kalais, men both with bright wings shooting from their backs. For Hera kindled within those sons of gods the all-persuading sweet desire for the ship Argo, that none should be left behind and stay by his mother's side in savourless and riskless life, but each, even were death the price, achieve in company with his peers a magic potency of his valour.

Now when that goodly crew were come to Iolkos, Jason mustered them with thanks to each, and the seer Mopsos prophesied by omens and by sacred lots, and with good will sped the host on board.

And when they had hung the anchors over the prow, then their chief taking in his hands a golden goblet stood up upon the stern and called on Zeus whose spear is the lightning, and on the rush of waves and winds and the nights and paths of the deep, to speed them quickly over, and for days of cheer and friendly fortune of return. And from the clouds a favourable voice of thunder pealed in answer; and there came bright lightning flashes bursting through.

Then the heroes took heart in obedience to the heavenly signs; and the seer bade them strike into the water with their oars, while he spake to them of happy hopes; and in their rapid hands the rowing sped untiringly.

And with breezes of the South they came wafted to the mouth of the Axine sea; there they founded a shrine and sacred close of Poseidon, god of seas, where was a red herd of Thracian bulls, and a new-built altar of stone with hollow top.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> i. e. one son of Zeus and Alkmene, Herakles, and two sons of Zeus and Leto, Kastor and Polydeukes.

<sup>13</sup> For the blood of the victims.

Then as they set forth toward an exceeding peril they prayed the lord of ships that they might shun the terrible shock of the clashing rocks: for they were twain that had life, and plunged along more swiftly than the legions of the bellowing winds; but that travel of the seed of gods made end of them at last.<sup>14</sup>

After that they came to the Phasis; there they fought with dark-faced Kolchians even in the presence of Aietes. And there the queen of keenest darts, the Cyprus-born, first brought to men from Olympus the frenzied bird, the speckled wry-neck,<sup>15</sup> binding it to a four-spoked wheel without deliverance, and taught the son of Aison to be wise in prayers and charms, that he might make Medea take no thought to honour her parents, and longing for Hellas might drive her by persuasion's lash, her heart afire with love.

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Then speedily she showed him the accomplishment of the tasks her father set, and mixing drugs with oil gave him for his anointment antidotes of cruel pain, and they vowed to be joined together in sweet wedlock.

But when Aietes had set in the midst a plough of adamant, and oxen that from tawny jaws breathed flame of blazing fire, and with bronze hoofs smote the earth in alternate steps, and had led them and yoked them single-handed, he marked out in a line straight furrows, and for a fathom's length clave the back of the loamy earth; then he spake thus: 'This work let your king, whosoever he be that hath command of the ship, accomplish me, and then let him bear away with him the imperishable coverlet, the fleece glittering with tufts of gold.'

He said, and Jason flung off from him his saffron mantle, and putting his trust in God betook himself to the work; and the fire made him not to shrink, for that he had had heed to the bidding of the stranger maiden skilled in all pharmacy. So he drew to him the plough and made fast by

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<sup>14</sup> The Symplegades having failed to crush the ship Argo between them were themselves destroyed by the shock of their encounter with each other. Probably a tradition of icebergs survived in this story.

<sup>15</sup> Used as a love-charm.

force the bulls' necks in the harness, and plunged the wounding goad into the bulk of their huge sides, and with manful strain fulfilled the measure of his work. And a cry without speech came from Aietes in his agony, at the marvel of the power he beheld.

Then to the strong man his comrades stretched forth their hands, and crowned him with green wreaths, and greeted him with gracious words. And thereupon the wondrous son<sup>16</sup> of Helios told him in what place the knife of Phrixos had stretched the shining fell; yet he trusted that this labour at least should never be accomplished by him. For it lay in a thick wood and grasped by a terrible dragon's jaws, and he in length and thickness was larger than their ship of fifty oars, which the iron's blows had welded.

Long were it for me to go by the beaten track, for the time is nigh out, and I know a certain short path, and many others look to me for skill. The glaring speckled dragon, O Arkesilas, he slew by subtlety, and by her own aid he stole away Medea, the murderess of Pelias. And they went down into the deep of Ocean and into the Red Sea, and to the Lemnian race of husband slaying wives; there also they had games and wrestled for a prize of vesture, and lay with the women of the land.

And then it was that in a stranger womb, by night or day, the fateful seed was sown of the bright fortune of thy race. For there began the generations of Euphemos, which should be thenceforth without end. And in time mingling among the homes of Lakedaimonian men they made their dwelling in the isle that once was Kalliste:<sup>17</sup> and thence the son of Leto gave thy race the Libyan plain to till it and to do honour therein to your gods, and to rule the divine city of golden-throned Kyrene with devising of the counsels of truth.

Now hearken to a wise saying even as the wisdom of Oedipus. If one with sharp axe lop the boughs of a great oak and mar the glorious form, even in the perishing of the fruit thereof it yet giveth token of that it was; whether at the last it come even to the winter fire, or whether with upright pillars in a master's house it stand, to serve drear service within alien walls, and the place thereof knoweth it no more.<sup>18</sup>

But thou art a physician most timely, and the god of healing maketh thy light burn brightly. A gentle hand must thou set to a festering wound. It is a small thing even for a slight man to shake a city, but to set it firm again in

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<sup>16</sup> Aietes.

<sup>17</sup> Thera.

<sup>18</sup> In this parable the oak is the state, the boughs its best men, the fire and the alien house destruction and servitude.

its place this is hard struggle indeed, unless with sudden aid God guide the ruler's hand. For thee are prepared the thanks which these deeds win. Be strong to serve with all thy might Kyrene's goodly destiny.

And of Homer's words take this to ponder in thy heart: Of a good messenger, he saith, cometh great honour to every deed. Even to the Muse is right messengership a gain. Now good cause have Kyrene and the glorious house of Battos to know the righteous mind of Demophilos.

For he was a boy with boys, yet in counsels an old man of a hundred years: and the evil tongue he robbeth of its loud voice, and hath learnt to abhor the insolent, neither will he make strife against the good, nor tarry when he hath a deed in hand. For a brief span hath opportunity for men, but of him it is known surely when it cometh, and he waiteth thereon a servant but no slave.

Now this they say is of all griefs the sorest, that one knowing good should of necessity abide without lot therein. Yea thus doth Atlas struggle now against the burden of the firmament, far from his native land and his possessions.

Yet the Titans were set free by immortal Zeus. As time runneth on the breeze abateth and there are shiftings of the sails. And he hath hope that when he shall have endured to the end his grievous plague he shall see once more his home, and at Apollo's fountain<sup>19</sup> joining in the feast give his soul to rejoice in her youth, and amid citizens who love his art, playing on his carven lute, shall enter upon peace, hurting and hurt of none. Then shall he tell how fair a fountain of immortal verse he made to flow for Arkesilas, when of late he was the guest of Thebes.

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<sup>19</sup> The fountain Kyra in the heart of the city Kyrene.

# XENOPHON – HELLENICA

Xenophon the Athenian was born 431 B.C. He was a pupil of Socrates. He marched with the Spartans, and was exiled from Athens. Sparta gave him land and property in Scillus, where he lived for many years before having to move once more, to settle in Corinth. He died in 354 B.C.

The Hellenica is his chronicle of the history of the Hellenes from 411 to 359 B.C., starting as a continuation of Thucydides, and becoming his own brand of work from Book III onwards.

## ***Hellenica – Book 1 - Translation - H. G. Dakyns***

*B.C. 411.* To follow the order of events<sup>1</sup> few days later hymochares arrived from Athens with a few ships, when another sea fight between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians at once took place, in which the former, under the command of Agesandridas, gained the victory.

Another short interval brings us to a morning in early winter, when Dorieus, the son of Diagoras, was entering the Hellespont with fourteen ships from Rhodes at break of day. The Athenian day-watch descriing him, signalled to the generals, and they, with twenty sail, put out to sea to attack him. Dorieus made good his escape, and, as he shook himself free of the narrows<sup>2</sup> ran his triremes aground off Rhoeteum. When the Athenians had come to close quarters, the fighting ommenced, and was sustained at once from ships and shore, until at length the Athenians retired to their main camp at Madytus, having achieved nothing.

Meanwhile Mindarus, while sacrificing to Athena at Ilium, had observed the battle. He at once hastened to the sea, and getting his own triremes afloat, sailed out to pick up the ships with Dorieus.

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<sup>1</sup> "after these events"; unfortunately there is no information to be found to describe what 'events' these would have been. The sea-fight most probably refers to the Hellespont.

<sup>2</sup> "as he opened" {*os enoige*} is still used as a nautical term in modern Greek.



The Athenians on their side put out to meet him, and engaged him off Abydos. From early morning till the afternoon the fight was kept up close to the shore .

Victory and defeat hung still in even balance, when Alcibiades came sailing up with eighteen ships. Thereupon the Peloponnesians fled towards Abydos, where, however, Pharnabazus brought them timely assistance.<sup>3</sup>

Mounted on horseback, he pushed forward into the sea as far as his horse would let him, doing battle himself, and encouraging his troopers and the infantry alike to play their parts. Then the Peloponnesians, ranging their ships in close- order, and drawing up their battle line in proximity to the land, kept up the fight. At length the Athenians, having captured thirty of the enemy's vessels without their crews, and having recovered those of their own which they had previously lost, set sail for Sestos.

Here the fleet, with the exception of forty vessels, ispersed in different directions outside the Hellespont, to collect money; while Thrasybulus, one of the generals, sailed to Athens to report what had happened, and to beg for a reinforcement of troops and ships. After the above incidents, Tissaphernes arrived in the Hellespont, and received a visit from Alcibiades, who presented him with a single ship, bringing with him tokens of friendship and gifts, whereupon Tissaphernes seized him and shut him up in Sardis, giving out that the king's orders were to go to war with the Athenians. Thirty days later Alcibiades, accompanied by Mantitheus, who had been captured in Caria, managed to procure horses and escaped by night to Clazomenae.

And now the Athenians at Sestos, hearing that Mindarus was meditating an attack upon them with a squadron of sixty sail, gave him the slip, and under cover of night escaped to Cardia.

Hither also Alcibiades repaired from Clazomenae, having with him<sup>4</sup> five triremes and a light skiff; but on learning that the Peloponnesian fleet had left Abydos and was in full sail for Cyzicus, he set off himself by land to Sestos, giving orders to the fleet to sail round and join him there.

Presently the vessels arrived, and he was on the point of putting out to sea with everything ready for action, when Theramenes, with a fleet of twenty ships from Macedonia, entered the port, and at the same instant Thrasybulus, with a second fleet of twenty sail from Thasos, both squadrons having been engaged in collecting money. Bidding these

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<sup>3</sup> Or, "came to their aid along the shore".

<sup>4</sup> trireme – A Greek warship. Equipment – three banks of oars propel the ship which uses a bronze ram to disable enemy ships, attains a speed of over nine knots.

officers also follow him with all speed, as soon as they had taken out their large sails and cleared for action, Alcibiades set sail himself for Parium.

During the following night the united squadron, consisting of eighty-six vessels, stood out to sea from Parium, and reached Proconnesus next morning, about the hour of breakfast.

Here they learnt that Mindarus was in Cyzicus, and that Pharnabazus, with a body of infantry, was with him. Accordingly they waited the whole of this day at Proconnesus. On the following day Alcibiades summoned an assembly, and addressing the men in terms of encouragement, warned them that a threefold service was expected of them; that they must be ready for a sea fight, a land fight, and a wall fight all at once, "for look you," said he, "we have no money, but the enemy has unlimited supplies from the king."

Now, on the previous day, as soon as they were come to moorings, he had collected all the sea-going craft of the island, big and little alike, under his own control, that no one might report the number of his squadron to the enemy, and he had further caused a proclamation to be made, that any one caught sailing across to the opposite coast would be punished with death.

When the meeting was over, he got his ships ready for action, and stood out to sea towards Cyzicus. In torrents of rain. Off Cyzicus the sky cleared, and the sun shone out and revealed to him the spectacle of Mindarus's vessels, sixty in number, exercising at some distance from the harbour, and, in fact, intercepted by himself. The Peloponnesians, perceiving at a glance the greatly increased number of the Athenian galleys, and noting their proximity to the port, made haste to reach the land, where they bought their vessels to anchor in a body, and prepared to engage the enemy as he sailed to the attack. But Alcibiades, sailing round with twenty of his vessels, came to land and disembarked.

Seeing this, Mindarus also landed, and in the engagement which ensued he fell fighting, whilst those who were with him took to flight. As for the enemy's ships, the Athenians succeeded in capturing the whole of them (with the exception of the Syracusan vessels, which were burnt by their crews), and made off with their prizes to Proconnesus.

From thence on the following day they sailed to attack Cyzicus. The men of that place, seeing that the Peloponnesians and Pharnabazus had evacuated the town, admitted the Athenians. Here Alcibiades remained twenty days, obtaining large sums of money from the Cyzicenes, but otherwise inflicting no sort of mischief on the community. He then sailed back to Proconnesus, and from there to Perinthus and Selybria.

The inhabitants of the former place welcomed his troops into their city, but the Selybrians preferred to give money, and so escape the admission of the troops. Continuing the voyage the squadron reached Chrysopolis in *Chalcedonia*,<sup>5</sup> [where they built a fort, and established a custom-house to collect the tithe dues which they levied on all merchantmen passing through the Straights from the Black Sea. Besides this, a detachment of thirty ships was left there under the two generals, Theramenes and Eubulus, with instructions not only to keep a look-out on the port itself and on all traders passing through the channel, but generally to injure the enemy in any way which might present itself. This done, the rest of the generals hastened back to the Hellespont.

Now a despatch from Hippocrates, Mindarus's vice-admiral,<sup>6</sup> had been intercepted on its way to Lacedaemon, and taken to Athens. It ran as follows (in broad Doric):<sup>7</sup> "Ships gone; Mindarus dead; the men starving; at our wits' end what to do?"

Pharnabazus, however, was ready to meet with encouragement the despondency which afflicted the whole Peloponnesian army and their allies. "As long as their own bodies were safe and sound, why need they take to heart the loss of a few wooden hulls? Was there not timber enough and to spare in the king's territory?" And so he presented each man with a cloak and maintenance for a couple of months, after which he armed the sailors and formed them into a coastguard for the security of his own seaboard.

He next called a meeting of the generals and trierarchs of the different States, and instructed them to build just as many new ships in the dockyards of Antandrus as they had respectively lost. He was to furnish the funds, and he gave them to understand that they might bring down timber from Mount Ida. While the ships were building, the Syracusans helped the men of Antandrus to finish a section of their walls, and were particularly pleasant on garrison duty; and that is why the Syracusans to this day enjoy the privilege of citizenship, with the title of "benefactors," at Antandrus. Having so arranged these matters, Pharnabazus proceeded at once to the rescue of Chalcedon.

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<sup>5</sup> This is the common spelling, but the coins of Calchedon have the letters {KALKH}, and so the name is written in the best MSS. Of Herodotus, Xenophon, and other writers, by whom the place is named. "Chalcedon".

<sup>6</sup> "Epistoleus," i.e. secretary or despatch writer, is the Spartan title of the officer second in command to the Admiral

<sup>7</sup> Reading {'Errei ta kala} (Bergk's conjecture for {kala}) = timbers," i.e. "ships" (a Doric word). Cf. Aristoph., "Lys." 1253, {potta kala} The despatch continues: {Mindaros apessoua} {apessua}), which is much more racy than the simple word.

It was at this date that the Syracusan generals received news from some of their banishment by the democratic party. Accordingly they called a meeting of their separate divisions, and putting forward Hermocrates<sup>8</sup> as their spokesman, proceeded to deplore their misfortune, insisting upon the injustice and the illegality of their banishment. "And now let us admonish you," they added, "to be eager and willing in the future, even as in the past: whatever the word of command may be, show yourselves good men and true: let not the memory of those glorious sea fights fade.

Think of those victories you have on those ships you have captured by your own unaided efforts; Forget not that long list of achievements shared by yourselves with others, in all which you proved yourselves invincible under our generalship. It was to a happy combination of our merit and your enthusiasm, displayed alike on land and sea, that you owe the strength and perfection of your discipline."

With these words they called upon the men to choose other commanders, who should undertake the duties of their office, until the arrival of their successors. Thereupon the whole assembly, and more particularly the captains and masters of vessels and marines, insisted with loud cries on their continuance in command. The generals replied, "It was not for them to indulge in faction against the State, but rather it was their duty, in case any charges were forthcoming against themselves, at once to render an account." When, however, no one had any kind of accusation to prefer, they yielded to the general demand, and were content to await the arrival of their successors. The names of these were; Demarchus, the son of Epidocus; Myscon, the son of Menocrates; and Potamis, the son of Gnosis.

The captains, for their part, swore to restore the exiled generals as soon as they themselves should return to Syracuse. At present with a general vote of thanks they despatched them to their several destinations. It particular those who had enjoyed the society of Hermocrates recalled his virtues with

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<sup>8</sup> Hermocrates, the son of Hermon. We first hear of him in Thuc. iv.58 foll. as the chief agent in bringing the Sicilian States together in conference at Gela B.C. 424, with a view to healing their differences and combining to frustrate the dangerous designs of Athens. In 415 B.C., when the attack came, he was again the master spirit in rendering it abortive (Thuc. vi. 72 foll.) In 412 B.C.... it was he who urged the Sicilians to assist in completing the overthrow of Athens, by sending a squadron to co-operate with the Peloponnesian navy—for the relief of Miletus, etc. (Thuc. Viii 26, 27 foll.) At a later date, in 411 B.C., when the Peloponnesian sailors were ready to mutiny, and "laid all their grievances to the charge of Astyochus (the Spartan admiral), who humoured Tissaphernes for his own gain" (Thuc. viii. 83), Hermocrates took the men's part, and so incurred the hatred of Tissaphernes.

regret, his thoroughness and enthusiasm, his frankness and affability, the care with which every morning and evening he was wont to gather in his quarters a group of naval captains and mariners whose ability he recognised. These were his confidants, to whom he communicated what he intended to say or do: they were his pupils, to whom he gave lessons in oratory, now calling upon them to speak extempore, and now again after deliberation.

By these means Hermocrates had gained a wide reputation at the council board, where his mastery of language was no less felt than the wisdom of his advice. Appearing at Lacedaemon as the accuser of Tissaphernes,<sup>9</sup> he had carried his case, not only by the testimony of Astyochus, but by the obvious sincerity of his statements, and on the strength of this reputation he now betook himself to Pharnabazus. The latter did not wait to be asked, but at once gave him money, which enabled him to collect friends and triremes, with a view to his ultimate recall to Syracuse. Meanwhile the successors of the Syracusans had arrived at Miletus, where they took charge of the ships and the army.

It was at this same season that a revolution occurred in Thasos, involving the expulsion of the philo-Laconian party, with the Laconian governor Eteonicus. The Laconian Pasippidas was charged with having brought the business about in conjunction with Tissaphernes, and was banished from Sparta in consequence. The naval force which he had been collecting from the allies was handed over to Cratesippidas, who was sent out to take his place in Chios.

About the same period, while Thrasyllus was still in Athens, Agis<sup>10</sup> made a foraging expedition up to the very walls of the city. But Thrasyllus led out the Athenians with the rest of the inhabitants of the city, and drew them up by the side of the Lyceum Gymnasium, ready to engage the enemy if they approached; seeing which, Agis beat a hasty retreat, not however without the loss of some of his supports, a few of whom were cut down by the Athenian light troops. This success disposed the citizens to take a still more favourable view of the objects for which Thrasyllus had come; and they passed a decree empowering him to call out a thousand hoplites, one hundred cavalry, and fifty triremes.

Meanwhile Agis, as he looked out from Deceleia, and saw vessel after vessel laden with corn running down to Piraeus, declared that it was

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<sup>9</sup> The matter referred to is fully explained Thuc. viii. 85.

<sup>10</sup> The reader will recollect that we are giving in "the Deceleian" period of the war, 413-404 B.C. The Spartan king was in command of the fortress of Deceleia, only fourteen miles distant from Athens, and erected on a spot within sight of the city. See Thuc. vii. 19, 27, 28.

useless for his troops to go on week after week excluding the Athenians from their own land, while no one stopped the source of their corn supply by sea: the best plan would be to send Clearchus<sup>11</sup> the son of Rhamphius, who was proxenos.<sup>12</sup> The Byzantines, to Chalcedon and Byzantium. The suggestion was approved, and with fifteen vessels duly manned from Megara, or furnished by other allies, Clearchus set out. These were troop-ships rather than swift-sailing men-of-war. Three of them, on reaching the Hellespont, ere destroyed by the Athenian ships employed to keep a sharp look-out on all merchant craft in those waters. The other twelve escaped to Sestos, and thence finally reached Byzantium in safety.

So closed the year—a year notable also for the expedition against icily of the Carthaginians under Hannibal with one hundred thousand men, and the capture, within three months, of the two Hellenic cities of Selinus and Himera.

## Part II

B.C. 409. Next year<sup>13</sup> the Athenians fortified Thoricus; and Thrasyllus, taking the vessels lately voted him and five thousand of his seamen armed to serve as peltasts,<sup>14</sup> set sail for Samos at the beginning of summer. At Samos he stayed three days, and then continued his voyage to Pygela, where he proceeded to ravage the territory and attack the fortress.

Presently a detachment from Miletus came to the rescue of the men of Pygela, and attacking the scattered bands of the Athenian light troops, put them to flight. But to the aid of the light troops came the naval brigade of

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<sup>11</sup> Of Clearchus we shall hear more in the sequel, and in the "Anabasis".

<sup>12</sup> The Proxenus answered pretty nearly to our "Consul," "Agent," Resident"; but he differed in this respect, that he was always a member of the foreign State. An Athenian represented Sparta at Athens; a Laconian represented Athens at Sparta, and so forth.

<sup>13</sup> The MSS. here give a suspected passage, which may be rendered thus: "The first of Olympiad 93, celebrated as the year in which the newly-added two-horse race was won by Evagorias the Eleian, and the stadion (200 yards foot-race) by the Cyrenaean Eubotas, when Evarchippus was ephor at Sparta and Euctemon archon at Athens." But Ol. 93, to which these officers, and the addition of the new race at Olympia belong, is the year 408. We must therefore suppose either that this passage has been accidentally inserted in the wrong place by some editor or copyist, or that the author was confused in his dates. The "stadium" is the famous foot-race at Olympia, 606 3/4 English feet in length, run on a course also called the "Stadion," which was exactly a stade long.

<sup>14</sup> Peltasts, i.e. light infantry armed with the "pelta" or light shield, instead of the heavy {aspis} of the hoplite or heavy infantry soldiers.

peltasts, with two companies of heavy infantry, and all but annihilated the whole detachment from Miletus.

They captured about two hundred shields, and set up a trophy. Next day they sailed to Notium, and from Notium, after due preparation, marched upon Colophon. The Colophonians capitulated without a blow. The following night they made an incursion into Lydia, where the corn crops were ripe, and burnt several villages, and captured money, slaves, and other booty in large quantity.

But Stages, the Persian, who was employed in this neighbourhood, fell in with a reinforcement of cavalry sent to protect the scattered pillaging parties from the Athenian camp, whilst occupied with their individual plunder, and took one trooper prisoner, killing seven others.

After this Thrasyllus led his troops back to the sea, intending to sail to Ephesus. Meanwhile Tissaphernes, who had wind of this intention, began collecting a large army and despatching cavalry with a summons to the inhabitants one and all to rally to the defence of the goddess Artemis at Ephesus.

On the seventeenth day after the incursion above mentioned Thrasyllus sailed to Ephesus. He disembarked his troops in two divisions, his heavy infantry in the neighbourhood of Mount Coressus; his cavalry, peltasts, and marines, with the remainder of his force, near the marsh on the other side of the city. At daybreak he pushed forward both divisions.

The citizens of Ephesus, on their side, were not slow to protect themselves. They had to aid them the troops brought up by Tissaphernes, as well as two detachments of Syracusans, consisting of the crews of their former twenty vessels and those of five new vessels which had opportunely arrived quite recently under Eucles, the son of Hippon, and Heracleides, the son of Aristogenes, together with two Selinuntian vessels. All these several forces first attacked the heavy infantry near Coressus; these they routed, killing about one hundred of them, and driving the remainder down into the sea. They then turned to deal with the second division on the marsh. Here, too, the Athenians were put to flight, and as many as three hundred of them perished. On this spot the Ephesians erected a trophy, and another at Coressus.

The valour of the Syracusans and Selinuntians had been so conspicuous that the citizens presented many of them, both publicly and privately, with prizes for distinction in the field, besides offering the right of residence in their city with certain immunities to all who at any time might wish to live there. To the Selinuntians, indeed, as their own city had lately been destroyed, they offered full citizenship.

The Athenians, after picking up their dead under a truce, set sail for Notium, and having there buried the slain, continued their voyage towards Lesbos and the Hellespont. Whilst lying at anchor in the harbour of Methymna, in that island, they caught sight of the Syracusan vessels, five-and-twenty in number, coasting along from Ephesus.

They put out to sea to attack them, and captured four ships with their crews, and chased the remainder back to Ephesus. The prisoners were sent by Thrasyllus to Athens, with one exception. This was an Athenian, Alcibiades, who was a cousin and fellow-exile of Alcibiades. Him Thrasyllus released<sup>15</sup> from Methymna Thrasyllus set sail to Sestos to join the main body of the army, after which the united forces crossed to Lampsacus.

And now winter was approaching. It was the winter in which the Syracusan prisoners who had been immured in the stone quarries of Piraeus dug through the rock and escaped one night, some to Decelia and others to Megara.

At Lampsacus Alcibiades was anxious to marshal the whole military force. There collected in one body, but the old troops refused to be incorporated with those of Thrasyllus. They, who had never yet been beaten, with these newcomers who had just suffered a defeat. So they devoted the winter to fortifying Lampsacus. They also made an expedition against Abydos, where Pharnabazus, coming to the rescue of the place, encountered them with numerous cavalry, but was defeated and forced to flee, Alcibiades pursuing hard with his cavalry and one hundred and twenty infantry under the command of Menander, till darkness intervened.

After this battle the soldiers came together of their own accord, and freely fraternized with the troops of Thrasyllus. This expedition was followed by other incursions during the winter into the interior, where they found plenty to do ravaging the king's territory.

It was at this period also that the Lacedaemonians allowed their revolted helots from Malea, who had found an asylum at Coryphasium, to depart under a flag of truce. It was also about the same period that the Achaeans betrayed the colonists of Heracleia Trachinia, when they were all drawn up in battle to meet the hostile Oetaeans, whereby as many as seven hundred of them were lost, together with the governor<sup>16</sup> from Lacedaemon, Labotas.

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<sup>15</sup> Reading {apelusen}. Wolf's conjecture for the MSS. {katelousen} = stoned. See Thirlwall, "Hist. Gr." IV. xxix. 93 note

<sup>16</sup> Technically {armostes} (harmost) i.e., Administrator.



Thus the year came to its close--a year arked further by a revolt of the Medes from Darius, the king of Persia, followed by renewed submission to his authority.

### Part III

B. C. 408.

The year following is the year in which the temple of Athena, in Phocaea, was struck by lightning and set on fire.<sup>17</sup>

With the cessation of winter, in early spring, the Athenians set sail with the whole of their force to Proconnesus, and thence advanced upon Chalcedon and Byzantium, encamping near the former town. The men of Chalcedon, aware of their approach, had taken the precaution to deposit all their pillageable property with their neighbours, the Bithynian Thracians; whereupon Alcibiades put himself at the head of a small body of heavy infantry with the cavalry, and giving orders to the fleet to follow along the coast, marched against the Bithynians and demanded back the property of the Chalcedonians, threatening them with war in case of refusal.

The Bithynians delivered up the property. Returning to camp, not only thus enriched, but with the further satisfaction of having secured pledges of good behaviour from the Bithynians, Alcibiades set to work with the whole of his troops to draw lines of circumvallation round Chalcedon from sea to sea, so as to include as much of the river as possible within his wall, which was made of timber. Thereupon the Lacedaemonian governor, Hippocrates, let his troops out of the city and offered battle, and the Athenians, on their side, drew up their forces opposite to receive him; while Pharnabazus, from without the lines of circumvallation, was still advancing with his army and large bodies of horse. Hippocrates and Thrasylus engaged each other with their heavy infantry for a long while, until Alcibiades, with a detachment of infantry and the cavalry, intervened. Presently Hippocrates fell, and the troops under him fled into the city; at the same instant Pharnabazus, unable to effect a junction with the Lacedaemonian leader, owing to the circumscribed nature of the ground and the close proximity of the river to the enemy's lines, retired to the Heracleium,<sup>18</sup> belonging to the Chalcedonians, where his camp lay.

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<sup>17</sup> The MSS. here give the words, "in the ephorate of Pantacles and the archonship of Antigenes, two-and-twenty years from the beginning of the war," but the twenty-second year of the war = B.C. 410; Antigenes archon, B.C. 407 = Ol. 93, 2; the passage must be regarded as a note mis-inserted by some editor or copyist (vide *supra*, I. 11).

<sup>18</sup> i.e. sacred place or temple of Heracles.

After this success Alcibiades set off to the Hellespont and the Chersonese to raise money, and the remaining generals came to terms with Pharnabazus in respect of Chalcedon; according to these, the Persian satrap agreed to pay the Athenians twenty talents<sup>19</sup> in behalf of the town, and to grant their ambassadors a safe conduct up country to the king. It was further stipulated by mutual consent and under oaths provided, that the Chalcedonians should continue the payment of their customary tribute to Athens, being also bound to discharge all outstanding debts. The Athenians, on their side, were bound to desist from all hostilities until the return of their ambassadors from the king.

These oaths were not witnessed by Alcibiades, who was now in the neighbourhood of Selybria. Having taken that place, he presently appeared before the walls of Byzantium at the head of the men of Chersonese, who came out with their whole force; he was aided further by troops from Thrace and more than three hundred horse. Accordingly Pharnabazus, insisting that he too must take the oath, decided to remain in Chalcedon, and to await his arrival from Byzantium. Alcibiades came, but was not prepared to bind himself by any oaths, unless Pharnabazus would, on his side, take oaths to himself.

After this, oaths were exchanged between them by proxy. Alcibiades took them at Chrysopolis in the presence of two representatives sent by Pharnabazus—namely, Mitrobates and Arnapes. Pharnabazus took them at Chalcedon in the presence of Euryptolemus and Diotimus, who represented Alcibiades. Both parties bound themselves not only by the general oath, but also interchanged personal pledges of good faith.

This done, Pharnabazus left Chalcedon at once, with injunctions that those who were going up to the king as ambassadors should meet him at Cyzicus. The representatives of Athens were Dorotheus, Philodices, Theogenes, Euryptolemus, and Mantitheus; with them were two Argives, Cleostratus and Pyrrholochus.

An embassy of the Lacedaemonians was also about to make the journey. This consisted of Pasippidas and his fellows, with whom were Hermocrates, now an exile from Syracuse, and his brother Proxenus. Pharnabazus put himself at their head.

Meanwhile the Athenians prosecuted the siege of Byzantium; lines of circumvallation were drawn; and they diversified the blockade by sharpshooting at long range and occasional assaults upon the walls. Inside

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<sup>19</sup> Twenty talents = 4800 pounds; or, more exactly, 4875 pounds.

the city lay Clearchus, the Lacedaemonian governor, and a body of Perioeci with a small detachment of Neodamodes.<sup>20</sup>

There was also a body of Megarians under their general Helixus, a Megarian, and another body of Boeotians, with their general Coeratadas. The Athenians, finding presently that they could effect nothing by force, worked upon some of the inhabitants to betray the place. Clearchus, meanwhile, never dreaming that any one would be capable of such an act, had crossed over to the opposite coast to visit Pharnabazus; he had left everything in perfect order, entrusting the government of the city to Coeratadas and Helixus.

His mission was to obtain pay for the soldiers from the Persian satrap, and to collect vessels from various quarters.

Some were already in the Hellespont, where they had been left as guardships by Pasippidas, or else at Antandrus. Others formed the fleet which Agesandridas, who had formerly served as a marine<sup>21</sup> under Mindarus, now commanded on the Thracian coast. Others Clearchus purposed to have built, and with the whole united squadron to so injure the allies of the Athenians as to draw off the besieging army from Byzantium. But no sooner was he fairly gone than those who were minded to betray the city set to work. Their names were Cydon, Aniston, Anaxicrates, Lycurgus, and Anaxilaus. The last-named was afterwards

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<sup>20</sup> According to the constitution of Lacedaemon the whole government was in Dorian hands. The subject population was divided into (1) Helots, who were State serfs. The children of Helots were at times brought up by Spartans and called "Mothakes"; Helots who had received their liberty were called "Neodamodes" ({neodamodeis}). After the conquest of Messenia this class was very numerous. (2) Perioeci. These were the ancient Achaean inhabitants, living in towns and villages, and managing their own affairs, paying tribute, and serving in the army as heavy-armed soldiers. In 458 B.C. they were said to number thirty thousand. The Spartans themselves were divided, like all Dorians, into three tribes, Hylleis, Dymanes, and Pamphyli, each of which tribes was divided into ten "obes," which were again divided into {oikoi} or families possessed of landed properties. In 458 B.C. there were said to be nine thousand such families; but in course of time, through alienation of lands, deaths in war, and other causes, their numbers were much diminished; and in many cases there was a loss of status, so that in the time of Agis III., B.C. 244, we hear of two orders of Spartans, the {omoioi} and the {upomeiones} (inferiors); seven hundred Spartans (families) proper and one hundred landed proprietors. See Mullers "*Dorians*," vol. ii. bk. iii. ch. x. S. 3 (*Eng. trans.*); Arist. "*Pol.*" ii. 9, 15; Plut. ("*Agis*").

<sup>21</sup> The Greek word is {*epibates*}, which some think was the title of an inferior naval officer in the Spartan service, but there is no proof of this. Cf. Thuc. viii. 61, and Prof. Jowett's note; also Grote, "*Hist. of Greece*," viii. 27 (2d ed).

impeached for treachery in Lacedaemon on the capital charge, and acquitted on the plea that, to begin with, he was not a Lacedaemonian, but a Byzantine, and, so far from having betrayed the city, he had saved it, when he saw women and children perishing of starvation; for Clearchus had given away all the corn in the city to the Lacedaemonian soldiers. It was for these reasons, as Anaxilaus himself admitted, he had introduced the enemy, and not for the sake of money, nor out of hatred to Lacedaemon.

As soon as everything was ready, these people opened the gates leading to the Thracian Square, as it is called, and admitted the Athenian troops with Alcibiades at their head. Helixus and Coeratadas, in complete ignorance of the plot, hastened to the Agora with the whole of the garrison, ready to confront the danger; but finding the enemy in occupation, they had nothing for it but to give themselves up. They were sent off as prisoners to Athens, where Coeratadas, in the midst of the crowd and confusion of debarkation at Piraeus, gave his guards the slip, and made his way in safety to Decelia.

## Part IV

B.C. 407

Pharnabazus and the ambassadors were passing the winter at Gordium in Phrygia, when they heard of the occurrences at Byzantium. Continuing their journey to the king's court in the commencement of spring, they were met by a former embassy, which was now on its return journey. These were the Lacedaemonian ambassadors, Boeotius and his party, with the other envoys; who told them that the Lacedaemonians had obtained from the king all they wanted. One of the company was Cyrus, the new governor of all the seaboard districts, who was prepared to co-operate with the Lacedaemonians in war.

He was the bearer, moreover, of a letter with the royal seal attached. It was addressed to all the populations of Lower Asia, and contained the following words: "I send down Cyrus as 'Karanos'<sup>22</sup>—that is to say, supreme lord—"over all those who muster at Castolus."

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<sup>22</sup> {Karanos.} Is this a Greek word, a Doric form, {karanos}, akin to {kara} (cf. {karenon}) = chief? or is it not more likely a Persian or native word, Karanos? and might not the title be akin conceivably to the word {korano}, which occurs on many Indo-Bactrian coins. See A. von Sallet, "Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen," p. 57, etc.)? or is {koiranos} the connecting link? The words translated "that is to say, supreme lord," {to de karanon esti kurion}, look very like a commentator's gloss.

The ambassadors of the Athenians, even while listening to this announcement, and indeed after they had seen Cyrus, were still desirous, if possible, to continue their journey to the king, or, failing that, to return home. Cyrus, however, urged upon Pharnabazus either to deliver them up to himself, or to defer sending them home at present; his object being to prevent the Athenians learning what was going on. Pharnabazus, wishing to escape all blame, for the time being detained them, telling them, at one time, that he would presently escort them up country to the king, and at another time that he would send them safe home.

But when three years had elapsed, he prayed Cyrus to let them go, declaring that he had taken an oath to bring them back to the sea, in default of escorting them up to the king. Then at last they received safe conduct to Ariobarzanes, with orders for their further transportation. The latter conducted them a stage further, to Cius in Mysia; and from Cius they set sail to join their main armament.

Alcibiades, whose chief desire was to return home to Athens with the troops, immediately set sail for Samos; and from that island, taking twenty of the ships, he sailed to the Ceramic Gulf of Caria, where he collected a hundred talents, and so returned to Samos.

Thrasybulus had gone Thrace-wards with thirty ships. In this quarter he reduced various places which had revolted to Lacedaemon, including the island of Thasos, which was in a bad plight, the result of wars, revolutions, and famine.

Thrasybulus, with the rest of the army, sailed back straight to Athens. On his arrival he found that the Athenians had already chosen as their General Alcibiades, who was still in exile, and Thrasybulus, who was also absent, and as a third, from among those at home, Conon.

Meanwhile Alcibiades, with the moneys lately collected and his fleet of twenty ships, left Samos and visited Paros. From Paros he stood out to sea across to Gytheum,<sup>23</sup> to keep an eye on the thirty ships of war which, as he was informed, the Lacedaemonians were equipping in that arsenal. Gytheum would also be a favourable point of observation from which to gauge the disposition of his fellow-countrymen and the prospects of his recall. When at length their good disposition seemed to him established, not only by his election as general, but by the messages of invitation which he received in private from his friends, he sailed home, and entered Piraeus

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<sup>23</sup> Gytheum, the port and arsenal of Sparta, situated near the head of The Laconian Gulf (now Marathonisi).

on the very day of the festival of the Plunteria<sup>24</sup> when the statue of Athena is veiled and screened from public gaze. This was a coincidence, as some thought, of evil omen, and unpropitious alike to himself and the State, for no Athenian would transact serious business on such a day.

As he sailed into the harbour, two great crowds—one from the Piraeus, the other from the city<sup>25</sup> flocked to meet the vessels. Wonderment, mixed with a desire to see Alcibiades, was the prevailing sentiment of the multitude. Of him they spoke: some asserting that he was the best of citizens, and that in his sole instance banishment had been ill-deserved. He had been the victim of plots, hatched in the brains of people less able than himself, however much they might excel in pestilent speech; men whose one principle of statecraft was to look to their private gains; whereas this man's policy had ever been to uphold the common weal, as much by his private means as by all the power of the State.

His own choice, eight years ago, when the charge of impiety in the matter of the mysteries was still fresh, would have been to submit to trial at once. It was his personal foes, who had succeeded in postponing that undeniably just procedure; who waited till his back was turned, and then robbed him of his fatherland.

Then it was that, being made the very slave of circumstance, he was driven to court the men he hated most; and at a time when his own life was in daily peril, he must see his dearest friends and fellow-citizens, nay, the very State itself, bent on a suicidal course, and yet, in the exclusion of exile, be unable to lend a helping hand. "It is not men of this stamp," they averred, "who desire changes in affairs and revolution: Had he not already guaranteed to him by the Democracy a position higher than that of his equals in age, and scarcely if at all inferior to his seniors? How different was the position of his enemies. It had been the fortune of these, though they were known to be the same men they had always been, to use their lately acquired power for the destruction in the first instance of the better classes; and then, being alone left surviving, to be accepted by their fellow-citizens in the absence of better men.

Others, however, insisted that for all their past miseries and isfortunes Alcibiades alone was responsible: "If more trials were still in store for the State, here was the master mischief-maker ready at his post to precipitate them."

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<sup>24</sup> {*ta Plunteria*}, or feast of washings, held on the 25th of the month Thargelion, when the image of the goddess Athena was stripped in order that her clothes might be washed by the Praxiergidæ; neither assembly nor court was held on that day and the Temple was closed.

<sup>25</sup> Or, "collected to meet the vessels from curiosity and a desire to see Alcibiades".

When the vessels came to their moorings, close to the land, Alcibiades, from fear of his enemies, was unwilling to disembark at once. Mounting on the quarterdeck, he scanned the multitude<sup>26</sup> anxious to make certain of the presence of his friends. Presently his eyes lit upon Eurypotemus, the son of Peisianax, who was his cousin, and then on the rest of his relations and other friends.

Upon this he landed, and so, in the midst of an escort ready to put down any attempt upon his person, made his way to the city.

In the Senate and Public Assembly<sup>27</sup> he made speeches, defending himself against the charge of impiety, and asserting that he had been the victim of injustice, with other like topics, which in the present temper of the assembly no one ventured to gainsay.

He was then formally declared leader and chief of the State, with irresponsible powers, as being the sole individual capable of recovering the ancient power and prestige of Athens. Armed with this authority, his first act was to institute anew the processional march to Eleusis; for of late years, owing to the war, the Athenians had been forced to conduct the mysteries by sea.

Now, at the head of the troops, he caused them to be conducted once again by land. This done, his next step was to muster an armament of one thousand five hundred heavy infantry, one hundred and fifty cavalry, and one hundred ships; and lastly, within three months of his return, he set sail for Andros, which had revolted from Athens.

The generals chosen to co-operate with him on land were Aristocrates and Adeimantus, the son of Leucophilides. He disembarked his troops on the island of Andros at Gaurium, and routed the Andrian citizens who allied out from the town to resist the invader; forcing them to return and keep close within their walls, though the number who fell was not large. This defeat was shared by some Lacedaemonians who were in the place. Alcibiades erected a trophy, and after a few days set sail himself for Samos, which became his base of operations in the future conduct of the war.

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<sup>26</sup> Or, "he looked to see if his friends were there".

<sup>27</sup> Technically the "Boule" ({Boule}) or Senate, and "Ecclesia" or Popular Assembly.

## Part V

At a date not much earlier than that of the incidents just described, the Lacedaemonians had sent out Lysander as their admiral, in the lace of Cratesippidas, whose period of office had expired.

The new admiral first visited Rhodes, where he got some ships, and sailed to Cos and Miletus, and from the latter place to Ephesus. At Ephesus he waited with seventy sail, expecting the advent of Cyrus in Sardis, when he at once went up to pay the prince a visit with the ambassadors from Lacedaemon. And now an opportunity was given to denounce the proceedings of Tissaphernes, and at the same time to beg Cyrus himself to show as much zeal as possible in the prosecution of the war.

Cyrus replied that not only had he received express injunction from his father to the same effect, but that his own views coincided with their wishes, which he was determined to carry out to the letter. He had, he informed them, brought with him five hundred talents;<sup>28</sup> and if that sum failed he had still the private revenue, which his father allowed him, to fall back upon, and when this resource was in its turn exhausted, he would coin the gold and silver throne on which he sat, into money for their benefit.<sup>29</sup> His audience thanked him for what he said, and further begged him to fix the rate of payment for the seamen at one Attic drachma per man.<sup>30</sup> explaining that should this rate of payment be adopted, the sailors of the Athenians would desert, and in the end there would be a saving of expenditure.

Cyrus complimented them on the soundness of their arguments, but said that it was not in his power to exceed the injunctions of the king. The terms of agreement were precise, thirty minae<sup>31</sup> a month per vessel to be given, whatever number of vessels the Lacedaemonians might choose to maintain.

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<sup>28</sup> About 120,000 pounds. One Euboic or Attic talent = sixty minae = six thousand drachmae = 243 pounds 15 shillings of our money.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the language of Tissaphernes, Thuc. viii. 81.

<sup>30</sup> About 9 3/4 pence; a drachma (= six obols) would be very high pay for a sailor—indeed, just double the usual amount. See Thuc. vi. 8 and viii. 29, and Prof. Jowett ad loc. Tissaphernes had, in the winter of 412 B.C., distributed one month's pay among the Peloponnesian ships at this high rate of a drachma a day, "as his envoy had promised at Lacedaemon;" but this he proposed to reduce to half a drachma, "until he had asked the king's leave, promising that if he obtained it, he would pay the entire drachma. On the remonstrance, however, of Hermocrates, the Syracusan general, he promised to each man a payment of somewhat more than three obols."

<sup>31</sup> Nearly 122 pounds; and thirty minae a month to each ship (the crew of each ship being taken at two hundred) = three obols a day to each man. The terms of



To this rejoinder Lysander at the moment said nothing, but after dinner, when Cyrus drank to his health, asking him "What he could do to gratify him most?" Lysander replied, "Add an \*obol<sup>32</sup> to the sailors' pay." After this the pay was raised to four instead of three obols, as it hitherto had been. Nor did the liberality of Cyrus end here; he not only paid up all arrears, but further gave a month's pay in advance, so that, if the enthusiasm of the army had been great before, it was greater than ever now.

The Athenians when they heard the news were proportionately depressed, and by help of Tissaphernes despatched ambassadors to Cyrus. That prince, however, refused to receive them, nor were the prayers of Tissaphernes of any avail, however much he insisted that Cyrus should adopt the policy which he himself, on the advice of Alcibiades, had persistently acted on. This was simply not to suffer any single Hellenic state to grow strong at the expense of the rest, but to keep them all weak alike, distracted by internecine strife.

Lysander, now that the organisation of his navy was arranged to his satisfaction, beached his squadron of ninety vessels at Ephesus, and that with hands folded, whilst the vessels dried and underwent repairs. Alcibiades, being informed that Thrasybulus had come south of the Hellespont and was fortifying Phocaea, sailed across to join him, leaving his own pilot Antiochus in command of the fleet, with orders not to attack Lysander's fleet. Antiochus, however, was tempted to leave Notium and sail into the harbour of Ephesus with a couple of ships, his own and another, past the prows of Lysander's squadron.

The Spartan at first contented himself with launching a few of his ships, and started in pursuit of the intruder; but when the Athenians came out with other vessels to assist Antiochus, he formed his whole squadron into line of battle, and bore down upon them, whereupon the Athenians followed suit, and getting their remaining triremes under weigh at Notium, stood out to sea as fast as each vessel could clear the point<sup>33</sup> thus it befell in the engagement which ensued, that while the enemy was in due order, the Athenians came up in scattered detachments and without concert, and in the end were put to flight with the loss of fifteen ships of war.

Of the crews, indeed, the majority escaped, though a certain number fell into the hands of the enemy. Then Lysander collected his vessels, and

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agreement to which Cyrus refers may have been specified in the convention mentioned above in chap. iv, which Boeotius and the rest were so proud to have obtained. But see Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. viii. p. 192 note (2d ed).

<sup>32</sup> An obol = one-sixth of a drachma; the Attic obol = rather more than 1 1/2 pence.

<sup>33</sup> {os ekastos enoixen}, for this nautical term see above.

having erected a trophy on Cape Notium, sailed across to Ephesus, whilst the Athenians retired to Samos.

On his return to Samos a little later, Alcibiades put out to sea with the whole squadron in the direction of the harbour of Ephesus. At the mouth of the harbour he marshalled his fleet in battle order, and tried to tempt the enemy to an engagement; but as Lysander, conscious of his inferiority in numbers, refused to accept the challenge, he sailed back again to Samos. Shortly after this the Lacedaemonians captured Delphinium and Eion.<sup>34</sup>

But now the news of the late disaster at Notium had reached the Athenians at home, and in their indignation they turned upon Alcibiades, to whose negligence and lack of self-command they attributed the destruction of the ships. Accordingly they chose ten new generals—namely Conon, Diomedon, Leon, Pericles, Erasinides, Aristocrates, Arcestratus, Protomachus, Thrasyllus, and Aristogenes. Alcibiades, who was moreover in bad odour in the camp, sailed away with a single trireme to his private fortress in the Chersonese.

After this Conon, in obedience to a decree of the Athenian people, set sail from Andros with the twenty vessels under his command in that island to Samos, and took command of the whole squadron.

To fill the place thus vacated by Conon, Phanosthenes was sent to Andros with four ships. That captain was fortunate enough to intercept and capture two Tuurian ships of war, crews and all, and these captives were all imprisoned by the Athenians, with the exception of their leader Dorieus.

He was the Rhodian, who some while back had been banished from Athens and from his native city by the Athenians, when sentence of death was passed upon him and his family. This man, who had once enjoyed the right of citizenship among them, they now took pity on and released him without ransom.

When Conon had reached Samos he found the armament in a state of great despondency. Accordingly his first measure was to man seventy ships with their full complement, instead of the former hundred and odd vessels. With this squadron he put to sea accompanied by the other Generals, and confined himself to making descents first at one point and then at another of the enemy's territory, and to collecting plunder.

And so the year drew to its close: a year signalled further by an invasion of

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<sup>34</sup> This should probably be Teos, in Ionia, in spite of the MSS. {'Eiona}. The place referred to cannot at any rate be the well-known Eion at the mouth of the Strymon in Thrace.

Sicily by the Carthaginians, with one hundred and twenty ships of war and a land force of one hundred and twenty thousand men, which resulted in the capture of Agrigentum. The town was finally reduced to famine after a siege of seven months, the invaders having previously been worsted in battle and forced to sit down before its walls for so long a time.

## Part VI

B.C. 406. In the following year--the year of the evening eclipse of the moon, and the burning of the old temple of Athena<sup>35</sup> at Athens<sup>36</sup>--the Lacedaemonians sent out Callicratidas to replace Lysander, whose period of office had now expired.<sup>37</sup> Lysander, when surrendering the squadron to his successor, spoke of himself as the winner of a sea fight, which had left him in undisputed mastery of the sea, and with this boast he handed over the ships to Callicratidas, who retorted, "If you will convey the fleet from Ephesus, keeping Samos<sup>38</sup> on your right" (that is, past where the Athenian navy lay), "and hand it over to me at Miletus, I will admit that you are master of the sea." But Lysander had no mind to interfere in the province of another officer. Thus Callicratidas assumed responsibility. He first manned, in addition to the squadron which he received from Lysander, fifty new vessels furnished by the allies from Chios and Rhodes and elsewhere.

When all these contingents were assembled, they formed a total of one hundred and forty sail, and with these he began making preparations for engagement with the enemy. But it was impossible for him not to note the strong current of opposition which he encountered from the friends of Lysander. Not only was there lack of zeal in their service, but they openly disseminated an opinion in the States, that it was the greatest possible blunder on the part of the Lacedaemonians so to change their admirals. Of course, they must from time to time get officers altogether unfit for the post--men whose nautical knowledge dated from yesterday, and who, moreover, had no notion of dealing with

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<sup>35</sup> As some think, the Erechtheion, which was built partly on the site of the old temple of Athena Polias, destroyed by the Persians. According to Dr. Dorpfeld, a quite separate building of the Doric order, the site of which (S. of the Erechtheion) has lately been discovered.

<sup>36</sup> The MSS. here add "in the ephorate of Pityas and the archonship of Callias at Athens;" but though the date is probably correct (cf. Leake, "Topography of Athens," vol. i. p. 576 foll.), the words are almost certainly a gloss.

<sup>37</sup> Here the MSS. add "with the twenty-fourth year of the war," probably an annotator's gloss; the correct date should be twenty-fifth. Pel. war 26 = B.C. 406. Pel. war 25 ended B.C. 407.

<sup>38</sup> Lit. on the left (or east) of Samos, looking south from Ephesus.

human beings. It would be very odd if this practice of sending out people ignorant of the sea and unknown to the folk of the country did not lead to some catastrophe.

*Callicratidas at once summoned the Lacedaemonians there present, and addressed them in the following terms:—"For my part," he said, "I am content to stay at home: and if Lysander or anyone else claim greater experience in nautical affairs than I possess, I have no desire to block his path.*

Only, being sent out by the State to take command of this fleet, I do not know what is left to me, save to carry out my instructions to the best of my ability. For yourselves, all I beg of you, in reference to my personal ambitions and the kind of charges brought against our common city, and of which you are as well aware as I am, is to state what you consider to be the best course: am I to stay where I am, or shall I sail back home, and explain the position of affairs out here?"

No one ventured to suggest any other course than that he should obey the authorities, and do what he was sent to do. Callicratidas then went up to the court of Cyrus to ask for further pay for the sailors, but the answer he got from Cyrus was that he should wait for two days. Callicratidas was annoyed at the rebuff: to dance attendance at the palace gates was little to his taste. In a fit of anger he cried out at the sorry condition of the Hellenes, thus forced to flatter the barbarian for the sake of money.

"If ever I get back home," he added, "I will do what in me lies to reconcile the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians." And so he turned and sailed back to Miletus. From Miletus he sent some triremes to Lacedaemon to get money, and convoking the public assembly of the Milesians, addressed them thus:—"Men of Miletus, necessity is laid upon me to obey the rulers at home; but for yourselves, whose neighbourhood to the barbarians has exposed you to many evils at their hands, I only ask you to let your zeal in the war bear some proportion to your former sufferings. You should set an example to the rest of the allies, and show us how to inflict the sharpest and swiftest injury on our enemy, whilst we await the return from Lacedaemon of my envoys with the necessary funds. Since one of the last acts of Lysander, before he left us, was to hand back to Cyrus the funds already on the spot, as though we could well dispense with them. I was thus forced to turn to Cyrus, but all I got from him was a series of rebuffs; he refused me an audience, and, for my part, I could not induce myself to hang about his gates like a mendicant. But I give you my word, men of Miletus, that in return for any assistance which you can render us while waiting for these aids, I will requite you richly. Only by God's help let us show these barbarians that we do not need to worship them, in order to punish our foes."

The speech was effective; many members of the assembly arose, and not the least eagerly those who were accused of opposing him. These, in some terror, proposed a vote of money, backed by offers of further private contributions. Furnished with these sums, and having procured from Chios a further remittance of five drachmas<sup>39</sup> a piece as outfit for each seaman, he set sail to Methyma in Lesbos, which was in the hands of the enemy. But as the Methymnaeans were not disposed to come over to him (since there was an Athenian garrison in the place, and the men at the head of affairs were partisans of Athens), he assaulted and took the place by storm.

All the property within accordingly became the spoil of the soldiers. The prisoners were collected for sale by Callicratidas in the market-place, where, in answer to the demand of the allies, who called upon him to sell the Methymnaeans also, he made answer, that as long as he was in command, not a single Hellene should be enslaved if he could help it. The next day he set at liberty the free-born captives; the Athenian garrison with the captured slaves he sold to Conon he sent word:<sup>40</sup> He would put a stop to his strumpeting the sea<sup>41</sup> and catching sight of him, as he put out to sea, at break of day, he gave chase, hoping to cut him off from his passage to Samos, and prevent his taking refuge there.

But Conon, aided by the sailing qualities of his fleet, the rowers of which were the pick of several ships' companies, concentrated in a few essels, made good his escape, seeking shelter within the harbour of Mitylene in Lesbos, and with him two of the ten generals, Leon and Erasinides. Callicratidas, pursuing him with one hundred and seventy sail, entered the harbour simultaneously; and Conon thus hindered from further or final escape by the too rapid movements of the enemy, was forced to engage inside the harbour, and lost thirty of his ships, though the crews escaped to land. The remaining, forty in number, he hauled up under the walls of the town. Callicratidas, on his side, came to

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<sup>39</sup> About 4d. ('Four Pence' - (Morritt)).

<sup>40</sup> Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. viii. p. 224 (2d ed.), thinks that Callicratidas did not even sell the Athenian garrison, as if the sense of the passage were: "The next day he set at liberty the free-born captives with the Athenian garrison, contenting himself with selling the captive slaves." But I am afraid that no ingenuity of stopping will extract that meaning from the Greek words, which are; {te d' usteraiā tous men eleutherois apheke tous de ton 'Athenaion phrourous kai ta andrapoda ta doula panta apedoto}. To spare the Athenian garrison would have been too extraordinary a proceeding even for Callicratidas. The idea probably never entered his head. It was sufficiently noble for him to refuse to sell the Methymnaeans. See the remarks of Mr. W. L. Newman, "The Pol. of Aristotle," vol. i. p. 142.

<sup>41</sup> i.e. the sea was Sparta's bride.

moorings in the harbour; and, having command of the exit, blocked the Athenian within. His next step was to send for the Methymnaeans in force by land, and to transport his army across from Chios. Money also came to him from Cyrus.

Conon, finding himself besieged by land and sea, without means of providing himself with corn from any quarter, the city crowded with inhabitants, and aid from Athens, whither no news of the late events could be conveyed, impossible, launched two of the fastest sailing vessels of his squadron.

These he manned, before daybreak, with the best rowers whom he could pick out of the fleet, stowing away the marines at the same time in the hold of the ships and closing the port shutters. Every day for four days they held out in this fashion, but at evening as soon as it was dark he disembarked his men, so that the enemy might not suspect what they were after. On the fifth day, having got in a small stock of provisions, when it was already mid-day and the blockaders were paying little or no attention, and some of them even were taking their siesta, the two ships sailed out of the harbour: the one directing her course towards the Hellespont, whilst her companion made for the open sea.

Then, on the part of the blockaders, there was a rush to the scene of action, as fast as the several crews could get clear of land, in bustle and confusion, cutting away the anchors, and rousing themselves from sleep, for, as chance would have it, they had been breakfasting on shore. Once on board, however, they were soon in hot pursuit of the ship which had started for the open sea, and ere the sun dipped they overhauled her, and after a successful engagement attached her by cables and towed her back into harbour, crew and all.

Her comrade, making for the Hellespont, escaped, and eventually reached Athens with news of the blockade. The first relief was brought to the blockaded fleet by Diomedon, who anchored with twelve vessels in the Mitylenaeen Narrows<sup>42</sup> but a sudden attack of Callicratidas, who bore down upon him without warning, cost him ten of his vessels, Diomedon himself escaping with his own ship and one other. Now that the position of affairs, including the blockade, was fully known at Athens, a vote was passed to send out a reinforcement of one hundred and ten ships. Every man of ripe age<sup>43</sup> whether slave or free, was impressed for this service, so that within thirty days the whole one hundred and ten vessels were fully manned and weighed anchor. Amongst those who served in this fleet were

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<sup>42</sup> Or, "Euripus".

<sup>43</sup> i.e. from eighteen to sixty years

also many of the knights.<sup>44</sup> The fleet at once stood out across to Samos, and picked up the Samian vessels in that island. The muster-roll was swelled by the addition of more than thirty others from the rest of the allies, to whom the same principle of conscription applied, as also it did to the ships already engaged on foreign service. The actual total, therefore, when all the contingents were collected, was over one hundred and fifty vessels.

Callicratidas, hearing that the relief squadron had already reached Samos, left fifty ships, under command of Eteonicus, in the harbour of Mitylene, and setting sail with the other one hundred and twenty, hove to for the evening meal off Cape Malea in Lesbos, opposite Mitylene.

It so happened that the Athenians on this day were supping on the islands of Arginusae, which lie opposite Lesbos. In the night the Spartan not only saw their watch-fires, but received positive information that "these were the Athenians;" and about midnight he got underweigh, intending to fall upon them suddenly. But a violent downpour of rain with thunder and lightning prevented him putting out to sea. By daybreak it had cleared, and he sailed towards Arginusae. On their side, the Athenian squadron stood out to meet him, with their left wing facing towards the open sea, and drawn up in the following order:—Aristocrates, in command of the left wing, with fifteen ships, led the van; next came Diomedon with fifteen others, and immediately in rear of Aristocrates and Diomedon respectively, as their supports, came Pericles and Erasinides. Parallel with Diomedon were the Samians, with their ten ships drawn up in single line, under the command of a Samian officer named Hipeus.

Next to these came the ten vessels of the taxiarchs, also in single line, and supporting them, the three ships of the navarchs, with any other allied vessels in the squadron. The right wing was entrusted to Protomachus with fifteen ships, and next to him (on the extreme right) was Thrasyllus with another division of fifteen. Protomachus was supported by Lysias with an equal number of ships, and Thrasyllus by Aristogenes. The object of this formation was to prevent the enemy from manouvring so as to break their line by striking them amidships<sup>45</sup> since they were inferior in sailing power.

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<sup>44</sup> See Boeckh. "P. E. A." Bk. II. chap. xxi. p. 263 (Eng. trans).

<sup>45</sup> Lit. "by the diekplous." Cf. Thuc. i. 49, and Arnold's note, who says: "The 'diekplous' was a breaking through the enemy's line in order by a rapid turning of the vessel to strike the enemy's ship on the side or stern, where it was most defenceless, and so to sink it." So, it seems, "the superiority of nautical skill has assed," as Grote (viii. p. 234) says, "to the Peloponnesians and their allies." Well may the historian add, "How astonished would the Athenian Admiral Phormion have been, if he could have witnessed the fleets and the order of battle at Arginusae!" See Thuc. iv. 11.

The Lacedaemonians, on the contrary, trusting to their superior seamanship, were formed opposite with their ships all in single line, with the special object of manouvring so as either to break the enemy's line or to wheel round them. Callicratidas commanded the right wing in person.

Before the battle the officer who acted as his pilot, the Megarian Hermon, suggested that it might be well to withdraw the Fleet as the Athenian ships were far more numerous. But Callicratidas replied that Sparta would be no worse off even if he personally should perish, but to flee would be disgraceful<sup>46</sup> and now the fleets approached, and for a long space the battle endured.

At first the vessels were engaged in crowded masses, and later on in scattered groups. At length Callicratidas, as his vessel dashed her beak into her antagonist, was hurled off into the sea and disappeared. At the same instant Protomachus, with his division on the right, had defeated the enemy's left, and then the flight of the Peloponnesians began towards Chios, though a very considerable body of them made for Phocaea, whilst the Athenians sailed back again to Arginusae. The losses on the side of the Athenians were twenty-five ships, crews and all, with the exception of the few who contrived to reach dry land. On the Peloponnesian side, nine out of the ten Lacedaemonian ships, and more than sixty belonging to the rest of the allied squadron, were lost.

After consultation the Athenian generals agreed that two captains of *Tiremes*, *Theramenes* and *Thrasybulus*, accompanied by some of the *taxiarchs*, should take forty-seven ships and sail to the assistance of the disabled fleet and of the men on board, whilst the rest of the squadron proceeded to attack the enemy's blockading squadron under *Eteonicus* at *Mitylene*. In spite of their desire to carry out this resolution, the wind and a violent storm which arose prevented them. So they set up a trophy, and took up their quarters for the night. As to *Eteonicus*, the details of the engagement were faithfully reported to him by the express despatch-boat in attendance.

On receipt of the news, however, he sent the despatch-boat out again the way she came, with an injunction to those on board of her to sail off quickly without exchanging a word with any one. Then on a sudden they were to return garlanded with wreaths of victory and shouting "Callicratidas has won a great sea fight, and the whole Athenian squadron

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<sup>46</sup> For the common reading, {oikeitai}, which is ungrammatical, various conjectures have been made, e.g. {oikieitai} = "would be none the worse off for citizens," {oikesetai} = "would be just as well administered without him," but as the readings and their renderings are alike doubtful, I have preferred to leave the matter vague. Cf. Cicero, "De Offic." i. 24; Plutarch, "Lac. Apophth." p. 832.



is destroyed." This they did, and Eteonicus, on his side, as soon as the despatch-boat came sailing in, proceeded to offer sacrifice of thanksgiving in honour of the good news. Meanwhile he gave orders that the troops were to take their evening meal, and that the masters of the trading ships were silently to stow away their goods on board the merchant ships and make sail as fast as the favourable breeze could speed them to Chios.

The ships of war were to follow suit with what speed they might. This done, he set fire to his camp, and led off the land forces to Methymna. Conon, finding the enemy had made off, and the wind had grown comparatively mild<sup>47</sup> got his ships afloat, and so fell in with the Athenian squadron, which had by this time set out from Arginusae. To these he explained the proceedings of Eteonicus. The squadron put into Mitylene, and from Mitylene stood across to Chios, and thence, without effecting anything further, sailed back to Samos.

## Part VII

All the above-named generals, with the exception of Conon, were presently deposed by the home authorities. In addition to Conon two new generals were chosen, Adeimantus and Philocles.

Of those concerned in the late victory two never returned to Athens: these were Protomachus and Aristogenes. The other six sailed home. Their names were Pericles, Diomedon, Lysias, Aristocrates, Thrasyllus, and Erasinides.

On their arrival Archidemus, the leader of the democracy at that date, who had charge of the two obol fund<sup>48</sup> inflicted a fine on Erasinides, and accused him before the Dicastery<sup>49</sup> of having appropriated money derived from the Hellespont, which belonged to the people. He brought a further charge against him of misconduct while acting as general, and the court sentenced him to imprisonment.

These proceedings in the law court were followed by the statement of the generals before the senate touching the late victory and the magnitude of the storm. Timocrates then proposed that the other five generals should be

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<sup>47</sup> Or, "had changed to a finer quarter".

<sup>48</sup> Reading {tes diobelais}, a happy conjecture for the MSS. {tes diobelias}, which is inexplicable. See Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. viii. p. 244 note (2d ed.)

<sup>49</sup> i.e. a legal tribunal or court of law. At Athens the free citizens constitutionally sworn and impanelled sat as "dicasts" ("jurymen," or rather as a bench of judges) to hear cases ({dikai}). Any particular board of dicasts formed a "dicastery".

put in custody and handed over to the public assembly whereupon the senate committed them all to prison.

Then came the meeting of the public assembly, in which others, and more particularly Theramenes, formally accused the generals. He insisted that they ought to show cause why they had not picked up the shipwrecked crews to prove that there had been no attempt on their part to attach blame to others, he might point, as conclusive testimony, to the despatch sent by the generals themselves to the senate and the people, in which they attributed the whole disaster to the storm, and nothing else. After this the generals each in turn made a defence, which was necessarily limited to a few words, since no right of addressing the assembly at length was allowed by law.

Their explanation of the occurrences was that, in order to be free to sail against the enemy themselves, they had devolved the duty of picking up the shipwrecked crews upon certain competent captains of men-of-war, who had themselves been generals in their time, to wit Theramenes and Tharysbulus, and others of like stamp. If blame could attach to any one at all with regard to the duty in question, those to whom their orders had been given were the sole persons they could hold responsible.

These proceedings in the law court were followed by the statement of the generals before the senate.

Touching<sup>50</sup> the late victory and the magnitude of the storm. Timocrates then proposed that the other five generals should be put in custody and handed over to the public assembly.<sup>51</sup> Whereupon the senate committed them all to prison. Then came the meeting of the public assembly, in which others, and more particularly Theramenes, formally accused the generals. He insisted that they ought to show cause why they had not picked up the shipwrecked crews. To prove that there had been no attempt on their part to attach blame to others, he might point, as conclusive testimony, to the despatch sent by the generals themselves to the Senate and the people, in which they attributed the whole disaster to the storm, and nothing else.

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<sup>50</sup> This is the Senate or Council of Five Hundred. One of its chief duties was to prepare measures for discussion in the assembly. It had also a certain amount of judicial power, hearing complaints and inflicting fines up to fifty drachmas. It sat daily, a "prytany" of fifty members of each of the ten tribes in rotation holding office for a month in turn.

<sup>51</sup> This is the great Public Assembly (the Ecclesia), consisting of all genuine Athenian citizens of more than twenty years of age.

was allowed by law. Their explanation of the occurrences was that, in order to be free to sail against the enemy themselves, they had devolved the duty of picking up the shipwrecked crews upon certain competent captains of men-of-war, who had themselves been generals in their time, to wit Theramenes and Tharsybulus, and others of like stamp. If blame could attach to any one at all with regard to the duty in question, those to whom their orders had been given were the sole persons they could hold responsible.

"But," they went on to say, "we will not, because these very persons have denounced us, invent a lie, and say that Theramenes and Tharsybulus are to blame, when the truth of the matter is that the magnitude of the storm alone prevented the burial of the dead and the rescue of the living." In proof of their contention, they produced the pilots and numerous other witnesses from among those present at the engagement.

By these arguments they were in a fair way to persuade the people of their innocence. Indeed many private citizens rose wishing to become bail for the accused, but it was resolved to defer decision till another meeting of the assembly. It was indeed already so late that it would have been impossible to see to count the show of hands. It was further resolved that the senate meanwhile should prepare a measure, to be introduced at the next assembly, as to the mode in which the accused should take their trial.

Then came the festival of the *Apaturia*,<sup>52</sup> with its family gatherings of fathers and kinsfolk. Accordingly the party of Theramenes procured numbers of people clad in black apparel, and close-shaven<sup>53</sup> who were to go in and present themselves before the public assembly in the middle of the festival, as relatives, presumably, of the men who had perished; and they persuaded Callixenus to accuse the generals in the senate.

The next step was to convoke the assembly, when the senate laid before it the proposal just passed by their body, at the instance of Callixenus, which ran as follows: "Seeing that both the parties to this case, to wit, the prosecutors of the generals on the one hand, and the accused themselves in their defence on the other, have been heard in the late meeting of the assembly; we propose that the people of Athens now record their votes, one and all, by their tribes; that a couple of voting urns be placed for the convenience of each several tribe; and the public crier in the hearing of each several tribe proclaim the mode of voting as follows: 'Let every one

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<sup>52</sup> An important festival held in October at Athens, and in nearly all Ionic cities. Its objects were (1) the recognition of a common descent from Ion, the son of Apollo Patrous; and (2) the maintenance of the ties of clanship. See Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. viii. p. 260 foll. (2d ed.); Jebb, "Theophr." xviii. 5.

<sup>53</sup> i.e., in sign of mourning.

who finds the generals guilty of not rescuing the heroes of the late sea fight deposit his vote in urn No. 1. Let him who is of the contrary opinion deposit his vote in urn No. 2.

Further, in the event of the aforesaid generals being found guilty, let death be the penalty. Let the guilty persons be delivered over to the eleven. Let their property be confiscated to the State, with the exception of one tithe, which falls to the goddess."<sup>54</sup> Now there came forward in the assembly a man, who said that he had escaped drowning by clinging to a meal tub. The poor fellows perishing around him had commissioned him, if he succeeded in saving himself, to tell the people of Athens how bravely they had fought for their fatherland, and how the generals had left them there to drown.

Presently Euryptolemus, the son of Peisianax, and others served a notice of indictment on Callixenus, insisting that his proposal was unconstitutional, and this view of the case was applauded by some members of the assembly. But the majority kept crying out that it was monstrous if the people were to be hindered by any stray individual from doing what seemed to them right.

And when Lysicus, embodying the spirit of those cries, formally proposed that if these persons would not abandon their action, they should be tried by the same vote along with the generals: a proposition to which the mob gave vociferous assent; and so these were compelled to abandon their summonses.

Again, when some of the Prytanes<sup>54</sup> objected to put a resolution to the vote which was in itself unconstitutional, Callixenus again got up and accused them in the same terms, and the shouting began again. "Yes, summons all who refuse," until the Prytanes, in alarm, all agreed with one exception to permit the voting. This obstinate dissentient was Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, who insisted that he would do nothing except in accordance with the law. After this Euryptolemus<sup>55</sup> rose and spoke in behalf of the generals. He said:—"I stand here, men of Athens, partly to accuse Pericles, though he is close and intimate connection of my own, and Diomedon, who is my friend, and partly to urge certain considerations on their behalf, but chiefly to press upon you what seems to me the best course for the State collectively.

I hold them to blame in that they dissuaded their colleagues from their intention to send a despatch to the senate and this assembly, which should

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<sup>54</sup> Prytanes—the technical term for the senators of the presiding tribe, who acted as presidents of the assembly. Their chairman for the day was called Epistates.

<sup>55</sup> For the part played by Socrates see further Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, I. i. 18; IV. iv. 2.

have informed you of the orders given to Theramenes and Thrasybulus to take forty-seven ships of war and pick up the shipwrecked crews, and of the neglect of the two officers to carry out those orders.

And it follows that though the offence was committed by one or two, the responsibility must be shared by all; and in return for kindness in the past, they are in danger at present of sacrificing their lives to the machinations of these very men, and others whom I could mention in danger, do I say, of losing their lives?

No, not so, if you will suffer me to persuade you to do what is just and right; if you will only adopt such a course as shall enable you best to discover the truth and shall save you from too late repentance, when you find you have transgressed irremediably against heaven and your own selves."

In what I urge there is no trap nor plot whereby you can be deceived by me or any other man; it is a straightforward course which will enable you to discover and punish the offender by whatever process you like, collectively or individually. Let them have, if not more, at any rate one whole day to make what defence they can for themselves; and trust to your own unbiased judgment to guide you to the right conclusion.

"You know, men of Athens, the exceeding stringency of the decree of Cannonus,<sup>56</sup> which orders that man, whosoever he be, who is guilty of treason against the people of Athens, to be put in irons, and so to meet the charge against him before the people. If he be convicted, he is to be thrown into the Barathron and perish, and the property of such an one is to be confiscated, with the exception of the tithe which falls to the goddess. I call upon you to try these generals in accordance with this decree.

Yes, and so help me God--if it please you, begin with my own kinsman Pericles for base would it be on my part to make him of more account than the whole of the State. Or, if you prefer, try them by that other law, which is directed against robbers of temples and betrayers of their country, which says: if a man betray his city or rob a sacred temple of the gods, he shall be tried before a law court, and if he be convicted, his body shall not be buried in Attica, and his goods shall be confiscated to the State.

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<sup>56</sup> "There was a rule in Attic judicial procedure, called the psephism of Kannonus (originally adopted, we do not know when, on the proposition of a citizen of that name, as a psephism or decree for some particular case, but since generalised into common practice, and grown into great prescriptive reverence), which peremptorily forbade any such collective trial or sentence, and directed that a separate judicial vote should in all cases be taken for or against each accused party." Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. viii. p. 266 (2d ed).

Take your choice as between these two laws, men of Athens, and let the prisoners be tried by one or other. Let three portions of a day be assigned to each respectively, one portion wherein they shall listen to their accusation, a second wherein they shall make their defence, and a third wherein you shall meet and give your votes in due order on the question of their guilt or innocence.

By this procedure the malefactors will receive the desert of their misdeeds in full, and those who are innocent will owe you, men of Athens, the recovery of their liberty, in place of unmerited destruction.<sup>57</sup> There was a rule in Attic judicial procedure, called the psephism of Kannonus (originally adopted, we do not know when, on the proposition of a citizen of that name, as a psephism or decree for some particular case, but since generalised into common practice, and grown into great prescriptive reverence), which peremptorily forbade any such collective trial or sentence, and directed that a separate judicial vote should in all cases be taken for or against each accused party." Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. viii. p. 266 (2d ed.)

"On your side, in trying the accused by recognised legal procedure, you will show that you obey the dictates of pious feeling, and can regard the sanctity of an oath, instead of joining hands with our enemies the Lacedaemonians and fighting their battles. For is it not to fight their battles, if you take their conquerors, the men who deprived them of seventy vessels, and at the moment of victory sent them to perdition untried and in the teeth of the law?

What are you afraid of, that you press forward with such hot haste? Do you imagine that you may be robbed of the power of life and death over whom you please, should you condescend to a legal trial? but that you are safe if you take shelter behind an illegality, like the illegality of Callixenus, when he worked upon the senate to propose to this assembly to deal with the accused by a single vote? But consider, you may actually put to death an innocent man, and then repentance will one day visit you too late.

Bethink you how painful and unavailing remorse will then be, and more particularly if your error has cost a fellow- creature his life. What a travesty of justice it would be if in the case of a man like Aristarchus,<sup>58</sup> who first tried to destroy the democracy and then betrayed Oenoe to our enemy the Thebans, you granted him a day for his defence, consulting his wishes, and conceded to him all the other benefits of the law; whereas now you are proposing to deprive of these same privileges your own generals, who in every way conformed to your views and defeated your enemies. Do

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<sup>57</sup> Reading {adikos apolountai}.

<sup>58</sup> See Thuc. viii. 90, 98

not you, of all men, I implore you, men of Athens, act thus. Why, these laws are your own, to them, beyond all else you owe your greatness. Guard them jealously; in nothing, I implore you, act without their sanction.

"But now, turn for a moment and consider with me the actual occurrences which have created the suspicion of misconduct on the part of our late generals. The sea-fight had been fought and won, and the ships had returned to land, when Diomedon urged that the whole squadron should sail out in line and pick up the wrecks and floating crews. Erasinides was in favour of all the vessels sailing as fast as possible to deal with the enemy's forces at Mitylene. And Thrasybulus represented that both objects could be effected, by leaving one division of the fleet there, and with the rest sailing against the enemy; and if this resolution were agreed to, he advised that each of the eight generals should leave three ships of his own division with the ten vessels of the taxiarchs, the ten Samian vessels, and the three belonging to the navarchs. These added together make forty-seven, four for each of the lost vessels, twelve in number. Among the taxiarchs left behind, two were Thrasybulus and Theramenes, the men who in the late meeting of this assembly undertook to accuse the generals.

With the remainder of the fleet they were to sail to attack the enemy's fleet. Everything, you must admit, was duly and admirably planned. It was only common justice, therefore, that those whose duty it was to attack the enemy should render an account for all miscarriages of operations against the enemy; while those who were commissioned to pick up the dead and dying should, if they failed to carry out the instructions of the generals, be put on trial to explain the reasons of the failure.

This indeed I may say in behalf of both parties. It was really the storm which, in spite of what the generals had planned, prevented anything being done. There are witnesses ready to attest the truth of this: the men who escaped as by a miracle, and among these one of these very generals, who was on a sinking ship and was saved. And this man, who needed picking up as much as anybody at that moment, is, they insist, to be tried by one and the same vote as those who neglected to perform their orders!

Once more, I beg you, men of Athens, to accept your victory and your good fortune, instead of behaving like the desperate victims of misfortune and defeat. Recognise the finger of divine necessity; do not incur the reproach of stony-heartedness by discovering treason where there was merely powerlessness, and condemning as guilty those who were prevented by the storm from carrying out their instructions. Nay! you will better satisfy the demands of justice by crowning these conquerors with wreaths of victory than by punishing them with death at the instigation of wicked men."

At the conclusion of his speech Euryptolemus proposed, as an amendment, that the prisoners should, in accordance with the decree of Cannonus, be tried each separately, as against the proposal of the senate to try them all by a single vote.

At the show of hands the tellers gave the majority in favour of Euryptolemus's amendment, but upon the application of Menecles, who took formal exception<sup>59</sup> to this decision, the show of hands was gone through again, and now the verdict was in favour of the resolution of the senate. At a later date the balloting was made, and by the votes recorded the eight generals were condemned, and the six who were in Athens were put to death.

Not long after, repentance seized the Athenians, and they passed a decree authorising the public prosecution of those who had deceived the people, and the appointment of proper securities for their persons until the trial was over. Callixenus was one of those committed for trial.

There were, besides Callixenus, four others against whom true bills were declared, and they were all five imprisoned by their sureties. But all subsequently effected their escape before the trial, at the time of the sedition in which Cleophon<sup>60</sup> was killed. Callixenus eventually came back when the party in Piraeus returned to the city, at the date of the amnesty but only<sup>61</sup> to die of hunger, an object of universal detestation.

To return to Eteonicus and his troops in Chios. During summer they were well able to support themselves on the fruits of the season, or by labouring for hire in different parts of the island, but with the approach of winter these means of subsistence began to fail. Ill-clad at the same time, and ill-shod, they fell to caballing and arranging plans to attack the city of Chios.

It was agreed amongst them, that in order to gauge their numbers, every member of the conspiracy should carry a reed. Eteonicus got wind of the design, but was at a loss how to deal with it, considering the number of these reed-bearers.

To make an open attack upon them seemed dangerous. It would probably lead to a rush to arms, in which the conspirators would seize the city and commence hostilities, and, in the event of their success, everything hitherto

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<sup>59</sup> For this matter cf. Schomann, "De Comitii Athen." p. 161 foll.; also Grote, "Hist. of Grece," vol. viii. p. 276 note (2d ed.)

<sup>60</sup> Cleophon, the well-known demagogue. For the occasion of his death see Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. viii. pp. 166, 310 (2d ed.); Prof. Jebb, "Attic Orators," i. 266, ii. 288. For his character, as popularly conceived, cf. Aristoph. "Frogs," 677.

<sup>61</sup> B.C. 403.



achieved would be lost. Or again, the destruction on his part of many fellow-creatures and allies was a terrible alternative, which would place the Spartans in an unenviable light with regard to the rest of Hellas, and render the soldiers ill-disposed to the cause in hand.

Accordingly he took with him fifteen men, armed with daggers, and marched through the city. Falling in with one of the reed-bearers, a man suffering from ophthalmia, who was returning from the surgeon's house, he put him to death. This led to some uproar, and people asked why the man was thus slain. By Eteonicus's orders the answer was set afloat, "because he carried a reed."

As the explanation circulated, one reed-bearer after another threw away the symbol, each one saying to himself, as he heard the reason given, "I have better not be seen with this." After a while Eteonicus called a meeting of the Chians, and imposed upon them a contribution of money, on the ground that with pay in their pockets the sailors would have no temptation to revolutionary projects.

The Chians acquiesced. Whereupon Eteonicus promptly ordered his crews to get on board their vessels. He then rowed alongside each ship in turn, and addressed the men at some length in terms of encouragement and cheery admonition, just as though he knew nothing of what had taken place, and so distributed a month's pay to every man on board.

After this the Chians and the other allies held a meeting in Ephesus, and, considering the present posture of affairs, determined to send ambassadors to Lacedaemon with a statement of the facts, and a request that Lysander might be sent out to take command of the fleet.

Lysander's high reputation among the allies dated back to his former period of office, when as admiral he had won the naval victory of Notium. The ambassadors accordingly were despatched, accompanied by envoys also from Cyrus, charged with the same message.

The Lacedaemonians responded by sending them Lysander as second in command,<sup>62</sup> with Aracus as admiral, since it was contrary to their custom that the same man should be admiral twice. At the same time the fleet was entrusted to Lysander.]<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Epistoleus. See above

<sup>63</sup> "At this date the war had lasted five-and-twenty years." So the SS. read the words are probably an interpolation.

It was in this year<sup>64</sup> that Cyrus put Autoboesaces and Mitraeus to death. These were sons of the sister of Dariaeus<sup>65</sup> (the daughter of Xerxes, the father of Darius).<sup>66</sup> He put them to death for neglecting, when they met him, to thrust their hands into the sleeve (or "kore") which is a tribute of respect paid to the king alone. This "kore" is longer than the ordinary sleeve, so long in fact that a man with his hand inside is rendered helpless. In consequence of this act on the part of Cyrus, Hieramenes<sup>67</sup> and his wife urged upon Dariaeus the danger of overlooking such excessive insolence on the part of the young prince, and Dariaeus, on the plea of sickness, sent a special embassy to summon Cyrus to his bedside.

B.C. 405. In the following year.<sup>68</sup> Lysander arrived at Ephesus, and sent for Eteonicus with his ships from Chios, and collected all other vessels elsewhere to be found. His time was now devoted to refitting the old ships and having new ones built in Antandrus. He also made a journey to the court of Cyrus with a request for money. All Cyrus could say was, that not only the money sent by the king was spent, but much more besides; and he pointed out the various sums which each of the admirals had received, but at the same time he gave him what he asked for. Furnished with this money, Lysander appointed captains to the different men-of-war, and remitted to the sailors their arrears of pay. Meanwhile the Athenian generals, on their side, were devoting their energies to the improvements of their navy at Samos.

It was now Cyrus's turn to send for Lysander. It was the moment at which the envoy from his father had arrived with the message: "Your father is on his sick-bed and desires your presence."

The king lay at Thamneria, in Media, near the territory of the Cadusians, against whom he had marched to put down a revolt. When Lysander presented himself, Cyrus was urgent with him not to engage the Athenians at sea unless he had many more ships than they. "The king," he added, "and I have plenty of wealth, so that, as far as money goes, you can man plenty of vessels." He then consigned to him all the tributes from the several cities which belonged to him personally, and gave him the ready money which he had as a gift; and finally, reminding him of the sincere

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<sup>64</sup> B.C.406.

<sup>65</sup> Dariaeus, i.e. Darius, but the spelling of the name is correct, and occurs in Ctesias, though in the "Anabasis" we have the spelling Darius.

<sup>66</sup> These words look like the note of a foolish and ignorant scribe. He ought to have written, "The daughter of Artaxerxes and own sister of Darius, commonly so called."

<sup>67</sup> For Hieramenes cf. Thuc. viii. 95, and Prof. Jowett ad loc.

<sup>68</sup> The MSS. add "during the ephorate of Archytas and the archonship at Athens of Alexias," which, though correct enough, is probably an interpolation.

friendship he entertained towards the state of Lacedaemon, as well as to himself personally, he set out up country to visit his father.

Lysander, finding himself thus left with the complete control of the property of Cyrus (during the absence of that prince, so summoned to the bedside of his father), was able to distribute pay to his troops, after which he set sail for the Ceramic Gulf of Caria.

Here he stormed a city in alliance with the Athenians named Cedreae, and on the following day's assault took it, and reduced the inhabitants to slavery. These were of a mixed Hellene and barbaric stock. From Cedreae he continued his voyage to Rhodes. The Athenians meanwhile, using Samos as their base of operations, were employed in devastating the king's territory, or in swooping down upon Chios and Ephesus, and in general were preparing for a naval battle, having but lately chosen three new generals in addition to those already in office, whose names were Menander, Tydeus, and Cephisodotus. Now Lysander, leaving Rhodes, and coasting along Ionia, made his way to the Hellespont, having an eye to the passage of vessels through the Straits, and, in a more hostile sense, on the cities which had revolted from Sparta.

The Athenians also set sail from Chios, but stood out to open sea, since the seaboard of Asia was hostile to them. Lysander was again on the move; leaving Abydos, he passed up channel to Lampsacus, which town was allied with Athens; the men of Abydos and the rest of the troops advancing by land, under the command of the Lacedaemonian Thorax. They then attacked and took by storm the town, which was wealthy, and with its stores of wine and wheat and other commodities was pillaged by the soldiery.

All free-born persons, however, were without exception released by Lysander. And now the Athenian fleet, following close on his heels, came to moorings at Elaesus, in the Chersonesus, one hundred and eighty sail in all. It was not until they had reached this place, and were getting their early meal, that the news of what had happened at Lampsacus reached them.

Then they instantly set sail again to Sestos, and, having halted long enough merely to take in stores, sailed on further to Aegospotami, a point facing Lampsacus, where the Hellespont is not quite two miles<sup>69</sup> broad. Here they took their evening meal.

The night following, or rather early next morning, with the first streak of dawn, Lysander gave the signal for the men to take their breakfasts and get on board their vessels; and so, having got all ready for a naval engagement,

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<sup>69</sup> Lit. fifteen stades.

with his ports closed and movable bulwarks attached, he issued the order that no one was to stir from his post or put out to sea. As the sun rose the Athenians drew up their vessels facing the harbour, in line of battle ready for action; but Lysander declining to come out to meet them, as the day advanced they retired again to Aegospotami.

Then Lysander ordered the swiftest of his ships to follow the Athenians, and as soon as the crews had disembarked, to watch what they did, sail back, and report to him. Until these look-outs returned he would permit no disembarkation from his ships. This performance he repeated for four successive days, and each day the Athenians put out to sea and challenged an engagement. But now Alcibiades, from one of his fortresses, could spy the position of his fellow-countrymen, moored on an open beach beyond reach of any city, and forced to send for supplies to Sestos, which was nearly two miles distant, while their enemies were safely lodged in a harbour, with a city adjoining, and everything within reach. The situation did not please him, and he advised them to shift their anchorage to Sestos, where they would have the advantage of a harbour and a city. "Once there," he concluded, "you can engage the enemy whenever it suits you." But the generals, and more particularly Tydeus and Menander, bade him go about his business. "We are generals now—not you," they said; and so he went away. And now for five days in succession the Athenians had sailed out to offer battle, and for the fifth time retired, followed by the same swift sailors of the enemy.

But this time Lysander's orders to the vessels so sent in pursuit were, that as soon as they saw the enemy's crew fairly disembarked and dispersed along the shores of the Chersonesus (a practice, it should be mentioned, which had grown upon them from day to day owing to the distance at which eatables had to be purchased, and out of sheer contempt, no doubt, of Lysander, who refused to accept battle), they were to begin their return voyage, and when in mid-channel to hoist a shield.

The orders were punctually carried out, and Lysander at once signalled to his whole squadron to put across with all speed, while Thorax, with the land forces, was to march parallel with the fleet along the coast of the enemy's fleet, which he could see bearing down upon him, Conon had only time to signal to the crews to join their ships and rally to the rescue with all their might. But the men were scattered far and wide, and some of the vessels had only two out of their three banks of rowers, some only a single one, while others again were completely empty. Conon's own ship, with seven others in attendance on him and the "Paralus,"<sup>70</sup> put out to sea, a little cluster of nine vessels, with their full complement of men; but every one of the remaining one hundred and seventy-one vessels were

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<sup>70</sup> The "Paralus"—the Athenian sacred vessel; cf. Thuc. iii. 33 et passim.

captured by Lysander on the beach. As to the men themselves, the large majority of them were easily made prisoners on shore, a few only escaping to the small fortresses of the neighbourhood. Meanwhile Conon and his nine vessels made good their escape. For himself, knowing that the fortune of Athens was ruined, he put into Abarnis, the promontory of Lampsacus, and there picked up the great sails of Lysander's ships, and then with eight ships set sail himself to seek refuge with Evagoras in Cyprus, while the "Paralus" started for Athens with tidings of what had taken place.

Lysander, on his side, conveyed the ships and prisoners and all other spoil back to Lampsacus, having on board some of the Athenian generals, notably Philocles and Adeimantus.

On the very day of these achievements he despatched Theopompus, a Milesian privateersman, to Lacedaemon to report what had taken place. This envoy arrived within three days and delivered his message. Lysander's next step was to convene the allies and bid them deliberate as to the treatment of the prisoners. Many were the accusations here levied against the Athenians.

There was talk of crimes committed against the law of Hellas, and of cruelties sanctioned by popular decrees; which, had they conquered in the late sea-fight, would have been carried out; such as the proposal to cut off the right hand of every prisoner taken alive, and lastly the ill-treatment of two captured men-of-war, a Corinthian and an Andrian vessel, when every man on board had been hurled headlong down the cliff. Philocles was the very general of the Athenians who had so ruthlessly destroyed those men.

Many other tales were told; and at length a resolution was passed to put all the Athenian prisoners, with the exception of Adeimantus, to death. He alone, it was pleaded, had taken exception to the proposal to cut off the prisoners' hands. On the other hand, he was himself accused by some people of having betrayed the fleet.

As to Philocles, Lysander put to him one question, as the officer who had thrown<sup>71</sup> the Corinthians and Andrians down the cliff: What fate did the man deserve to suffer who had embarked on so cruel a course of illegality against Hellenes? and so delivered him to the executioner.

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<sup>71</sup> Reading {os . . . katekremnise}.

## Part II

When he had set the affairs of Lampsacus in order, Lysander sailed to Byzantium and Chalcedon, where the inhabitants, having first dismissed the Athenian garrison under a flag of truce, admitted him within their walls. Those citizens of Byzantium, who had betrayed Byzantium into the hands of Alcibiades, fled as exiles into Pontus, but subsequently betaking themselves to Athens, became Athenian citizens. In dealing with the Athenian garrisons, and indeed with all Athenians wheresoever found, Lysander made it a rule to give them safe conduct to Athens, and to Athens only, in the certainty that the larger the number collected within the city and Piraeus, the more quickly the want of necessities of life would make itself felt. And now, leaving Stenelaus, a Laconian, as governor-general of Byzantium and Chalcedon, he sailed back himself to Lampsacus and devoted himself to refitting his ships.

It was night when the "Paralus" reached Athens with her evil tidings, on receipt of which a bitter wail of woe broke forth. From Piraeus, following the line of the long walls up to the heart of the city, it swept and swelled, as each man to his neighbour passed on the news.

On that night no man slept. There was mourning and sorrow for those that were lost, but the lamentation for the dead was merged in even deeper sorrow for themselves, as they pictured the evils they were about to suffer, the like of which they themselves had inflicted upon the men of Melos, who were colonists of the Lacedaemonians, when they mastered them by siege. Or on the men of Histiaea; on Scione and Torone; on the Aeginetans, and many another Hellene city.<sup>72</sup>

On the following day the public assembly met, and, after debate, it was resolved to block up all the harbours save one, to put the walls in a state of defence, to post guards at various points, and to make all other necessary preparations for a siege. Such were the concerns of the men of Athens.

Lysander presently left the Hellespont with two hundred sail and arrived at Lesbos, where he established a new order of things in Mitylene and the other cities of the island. Meanwhile he dispatched Eteonicus with a squadron of ten ships to the northern coasts<sup>73</sup> where that officer brought about a revolution of affairs which placed the whole region in the hands of Lacedaemon. Indeed, in a moment of time, after the sea-fight, the whole of Hellas had revolted from Athens, with the solitary exception of the men of

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<sup>72</sup> With regard to these painful recollections, see (1) for the siege and surrender of Melos (in B.C. 416), Thuc. v. 114, 116; and cf. Aristoph. "Birds," 186; Plut. ("Lysander," 14).

<sup>73</sup> Lit. "The Thraceward districts".

Samos. These, having massacred the notables,<sup>74</sup> held the state under their control. After a while Lysander sent messages to Agis at Deceleia, and to Lacedaemon, announcing his approach with a squadron of two hundred sail. In obedience to a general order of Pausanias, the other king of Lacedaemon, a levy in force of the Lacedaemonians and all the rest of Peloponnesus, except the Argives, was set in motion for a campaign. As soon as the several contingents had arrived, the king put himself at their head and marched against Athens, encamping in the gymnasium of the Academy,<sup>75</sup> as it is called. Lysander had now reached Aegina, where, having got together as many of the former inhabitants as possible, he formally reinstated them in their city; and what he did on behalf of the Aeginetans, he did also in behalf of the Melians, and of the rest who had been deprived of their countries. He then pillaged the island of Salamis, and finally came to moorings off Piraeus with one hundred and fifty ships of the line, and established a strict blockade against all merchant ships entering that harbour. For this most illustrious of Athenian gymnasia, which still retains its name, see Leake, "Topography of Athens," i. 195 foll.

The Athenians, finding themselves besieged by land and sea, were in sore perplexity what to do. Without ships, without allies, without provisions, the belief gained hold upon them that there was no way of escape. They must now, in their turn, suffer what they had themselves inflicted upon others; not in retaliation, indeed, for ills received, but out of sheer insolence, overriding the citizens of petty states, and for no better reason than that these were allies of the very men now at their gates. In this frame of mind they enfranchised those who at any time had lost their civil rights, and schooled themselves to endurance; and, albeit many succumbed to starvation, no thought of truce or reconciliation with their foes was breathed.<sup>76</sup>

But when the stock of corn was absolutely insufficient, they sent an embassy to Agis, proposing to become allies of the Lacedaemonians on the sole condition of keeping their fortification walls and Piraeus; and to draw up articles of treaty on these terms. Agis bade them betake themselves to Lacedaemon, seeing that he had no authority to act himself. With this answer the ambassadors returned to Athens, and were forthwith sent on to Lacedaemon. On reaching Sellasia,<sup>77</sup> a town<sup>78</sup> in Laconian

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<sup>74</sup> Or, "since they had slain their notables, held the state under popular control. See Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. viii. p. 303 note 3 (2d ed.), who thinks that the incident referred to is the violent democratic revolution in Samos described in Thuc. viii. 21, B.C. 412.

<sup>75</sup> For this most illustrious of Athenian gymnasia, which still retains its name, see Leake, "Topography of Athens," i. 195 foll

<sup>76</sup> Or, "they refused to treat for peace".

<sup>77</sup> Sellasia, the bulwark of Sparta in the valley of the Oenus.

territory, they waited till they got their answer from the ephors, who, having learnt their terms (which were identical to those already proposed to Agis), bade them instantly to be gone, and, if they really desired peace, to come with other proposals, the fruit of happier reflection. Thus the ambassadors returned home, and reported the result of their embassy, whereupon despondency fell upon all.

It was a painful reflection that in the end they would be sold into slavery; and meanwhile, pending the return of a second embassy, many must needs fall victims to starvation. The razing of their fortifications was not a solution which any one cared to recommend. A senator, Arcestratus, had indeed put the question in the senate, whether it were not best to make peace with the Lacedaemonians on such terms as they were willing to propose; but he was thrown into prison.

The Laconian proposals referred to involved the destruction of both long walls for a space of more than a mile. And a decree had been passed, making it illegal to submit any such proposition about the walls. Things having reached this pass, Theramenes made a proposal in the public assembly as follows: If they chose to send him as an amassador to Lysander, he would go and find out why the Lacedaemonians were so unyielding about the walls; whether it was they really intended to enslave the city, or merely that they wanted a guarantee of good faith. Despatched accordingly, he lingered on with Lysander for three whole months and more, watching for the time when the Athenians, at the last pinch of starvation, would be willing to accede to any terms that might be offered. At last, in the fourth month, he returned and reported to the public assembly that Lysander had detained him all this while, and had ended by bidding him betake himself to Lacedaemon, since he had no authority himself to answer his questions, which must be addressed directly to the ephors.

After this Theramenes was chosen with nine others to go to Lacedaemon as ambassadors with full powers. Meanwhile Lysander had sent an Athenian exile, named Aristoteles, in company of certain Lacedaemonians, to Sparta to report to the board of ephors how he had answered Theramenes, that they, and they alone, had supreme authority in matters of peace and war.

Theramenes and his companions presently reached Sellasia, and being there questioned as to the reason of their visit, replied that they had full

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<sup>78</sup> The MSS. have "in the neighbourhood of," which words are inappropriate at this date, though they may well have been added by some annotator after the Cleomenic war and the battle of Sellasia, B.C. 222, when Antigonus of Macedon destroyed the place in the interests of the Achaean League.



powers to treat of peace. After which the ephors ordered them to be summoned to their presence.

On their arrival a general assembly was convened, in which the Corinthians and Thebans more particularly, though their views were shared by many other Hellenes also, urged the meeting not to come to terms with the Athenians, but to destroy them.

The Lacedaemonians replied that they would never reduce to slavery a city which was itself an integral portion of Hellas, and had performed a great and noble service to Hellas in the most perilous of emergencies. On the contrary, they were willing to offer peace on the terms now specified—namely, "That the long walls and the fortifications of Piraeus should be destroyed; that the Athenian fleet, with the exception of twelve vessels, should be surrendered; that the exiles should be restored; and lastly, that the Athenians should acknowledge the headship of Sparta in peace and war, leaving to her the choice of friends and foes, and following her lead by land and sea."

Such were the terms which Theramenes and the rest who acted with him were able to report on their return to Athens. As they entered the city, a vast crowd met them, trembling lest their mission have proved fruitless. For indeed delay was no longer possible, so long already was the list of victims daily perishing from starvation.

On the day following, the ambassadors delivered their report, stating the terms upon which the Lacedaemonians were willing to make peace. Theramenes acted as spokesman, insisting that they ought to obey the Lacedaemonians and pull down the walls. A small minority raised their voice in opposition, but the majority were strongly in favour of the proposition, and the resolution was passed to accept the peace.

After that, Lysander sailed into the Piraeus, and the exiles were readmitted. And so they fell to levelling the fortifications and walls with much enthusiasm, to the accompaniment of female flute-players, deeming that day the beginning of liberty to Greece.

Thus the year drew to its close<sup>79</sup> during its middle months took place the accession of Dionysius, the son of Hermocrates the Syracusan, to the

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<sup>79</sup> For the puzzling chronology of this paragraph see Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. x. p 619 (2d ed.) If genuine, the words may perhaps have slipped out of their natural place in chapter i. above, in front of the words "in the following year Lysander arrived," etc. L. Dindorf brackets them as spurious. Xen., "Hist. Gr." ed. tertius, Lipsiae, MDCCCLXXII. For the incidents referred to see above; Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. x. pp. 582, 598 (2d ed.)

tyranny of Syracuse; an incident itself preceded by a victory gained over the Carthaginians by the Syracusans; the reduction of Agrigentum through famine by the Carthaginians themselves; and the exodus of the Sicilian Greeks from that city.

## SIMONIDES OF CEAS – (c. 556 BC-468 BC)

Simonides, was a poet and a philosopher. He was born in Ioulis, Ceos (Ἰουλίς, Κέως).

In his youth he taught poetry and music, and composed paeans for the festivals of Apollo. He went to live at Athens, at the court of Hipparchus, the patron of literature. After the assassination of Hipparchus (514 BC), Simonides withdrew to Thessaly, where he enjoyed the protection and patronage of the Scopadae and Aleuadae (two celebrated Thessalian families).

Cicero tells the story of the end of his relations with the Scopadae. His patron, Scopas, reproached him at a banquet for devoting too much space to a praise of Castor and Pollux in an ode celebrating Scopas' victory in a chariot-race. Scopas refused to pay all the fee and told Simonides to apply to the twin gods for the remainder. Shortly afterwards, Simonides was told that two young men wished to speak to him; after he had left the banqueting room, the roof fell in and crushed Scopas and his guests. During the excavation of the rubble, Simonides was called upon to identify each guest killed. He managed to do so by correlating their identities to their positions at the table before his departure. After thanking Castor and Pollux for paying their half of the fee by saving his life, Simonides drew on this experience to develop the 'memory theatre' a system for information management widely used in oral societies until the Renaissance. He is often credited with inventing this ancient system of mnemonics.

After the Battle of Marathon, Simonides returned to Athens. Later he went to Sicily (*at the invitation of Hiero I of Syracuse,*) at whose court he spent the rest of his life. His reputation as a man of learning is shown by the tradition that he introduced the distinction between the long and short vowels (ε, η, ο, ω), afterwards adopted in the Ionic alphabet that came into general use during the archonship of Euclides (403 BC). He also was popular and commamnded respect and power. It is said that he reconciled Hiero and Thero on the eve of a battle between their opposing armies. He

was the intimate friend of Themistocles and Pausanias the Spartan. His poems on the war of liberation against Persia encouraged the spirit of national patriotism.

Simonides died around 468 BC in Syracuse, Sicily. The cause of his death is unknown.

He wrote odes to victors and dirges. also songs of praise to the gods and poems about war. Of his poetry we possess two or three short elegies (Fr. 85 seems from its style and versification to belong The epigrams written in the usual dialect of elegy, Ionic with were intended partly for public and Occasionally for epitaphs.

ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε  
 κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.  
 O xein', angellein Lakedaimoniois hoti tēde  
 keimetha tois keiron rhēmasi peithomenoi.  
 which may be translated literally as  
 O stranger, tell Lacedaemonians that here  
 We lie to their speeches in obedience.  
 See here for a list of English translations in rhyme.

Thomas Bullfinch wrote that Simonides "particularly excelled" in the genre of elegy: "His genius was inclined to the pathetic, and none could touch with truer effect the chords of human sympathy."

As a guest of the courts of Hieron I, tyrant of Syracuse, and Theron, tyrant of Acragas; tradition there made him and Bacchylides *the rivals of Pindar*.

His lyrics varied in character also in length .His odes were varied related to the gods, victors of games etc.

He was nationalist who put emphasis on the losses at Thermopylae. He recognised the fallen at the battle of Marathon. He was invited to the courts of Hieron I, tyrant of Syracuse, and Theron, tyrant of Acragas; tradition there made him and Bacchylides *the rivals of Pindar* Simonides had a natural nonconformist personality. He questioned autocratic values. He understood the aspect of the new middle classes. He was pragmatic and a realist and was conscious of the inadequacies and imperfections in life.

Recently new papyrus fragments of his elegies were published; among them are parts of a long composition on the battle of Plataea (479 bc), in

which the decisive role of the Spartans is emphasized. The fragments also include pederastic works and poems that were of the type meant for symposia (dinner parties).

Simonides requires no standard of lofty unswerving rectitude. "It is hard," he says (Fr. 5), to become a truly good man, perfect as a square in hands and feet and mind, fashioned without blame. Whosoever is bad, and not too wicked, knowing justice, the benefactor of cities, is a sound man. I for one will find no fault with him, for the race of fools is infinite. I praise and love all men who do no sin willingly; but with necessity even the gods do not contend.

Virtue, he tells us elsewhere in language that recalls Hesiod, is set on a high and difficult hill (Fr. 58); let us seek after pleasure, for "all things come to one dread Charybdis, both great virtues and wealth" (Fr. 38).

Yet Simonides is far from being a hedonist; his morality, no less than his art, is pervaded by that virtue for which Ceos was renowned — self-restraint. His most celebrated fragment is a dirge, in which Danaë, adrift with the infant Perseus on the sea in a dark and stormy night, takes comfort from the peaceful slumber of her babe. Simonides here illustrates his own saying that "poetry is vocal painting, as painting is silent poetry," a formula that (handed down by Plutarch's *De Gloria Atheniensium*) became Horace's famous "*ut pictura poesis*."

As one of the most prolific of the early poets of Greece, only a few fragments of his compositions have descended to us. He wrote hymns, triumphal odes, and elegies. In the last species of composition he particularly excelled. His genius was inclined to the pathetic, and none could touch with truer effect the chords of human sympathy. The "Lamentation of Danaë," the most important of the fragments which remain of his poetry, is based upon the tradition that Danaë and her infant son were confined by order of her father, Acrisius, in a chest and set adrift on the sea. The chest floated towards the island of Seriphus, where both were rescued by Dictys, a fisherman, and carried to Polydectes, king of the country, who received and protected them. The child, Perseus, when grown up became a famous hero..

Simonides passed much of his life at the courts of princes, and often employed his talents in panegyric and festal odes, receiving his reward from the munificence of those whose exploits he celebrated. This

employment was not derogatory, but closely resembles that of the earliest bards, such as Demodocus, described by Homer, or of Homer himself, as recorded by tradition. Vanity is exacting; and as Scopas sat at his festal board among his courtiers and sycophants, he grudged every verse that did not rehearse his own praises. When Simonides approached to receive the promised reward Scopas bestowed but half the expected sum, saying,

“Here is payment for my portion of thy performance; Castor and Pollux will doubtless compensate thee for so much as relates to them.”

The disconcerted poet returned to his seat amidst the laughter which followed the great man’s jest. In a little time he received a message that two young men on horseback were waiting without and anxious to see him. Simonides hastened to the door, but looked in vain for the visitors. Scarcely, however, had he left the banqueting hall when *the roof fell in with a loud crash, burying Scopas and all his guests beneath the ruins*. On inquiring as to the appearance of the young men who had sent for him, Simonides was satisfied that they were no other than Castor and Pollux themselves. Source - Thomas Bulfinch (1796–1867). *Age of Fable: Vols. I & II: Stories of Gods and Heroes*. 1913.

Go, tell the Spartans, stranger passing by, That here, obedient to their laws,  
we lie.

—Epitaph on the Cenotaph of Thermopylae, recorded by Herodotus.

Go, tell the Spartans, thou who passest by,  
That here obedient to their laws we lie.  
Stranger, go tell the men of Lacedaemon  
That we, who lie here, did as we were ordered.  
Stranger, bring the message to the Spartans that here  
We remain, obedient to their orders.  
Oh foreigner, tell the Lacedaemonians  
That here we lie, obeying those words.  
Here lies Megistias, who died  
When the Mede passed Sephulchros' tide;  
A Prophet, though he would not save  
Himself, sharing the Spartan grave.  
—Epitaph of the Spartan Diviner, Megistias, at Thermopylae

Not even the gods fight against necessity.

—Quoted by Plato in the Dialogue *Protagoras*.

Variant translations:

The gods do not fight against necessity.

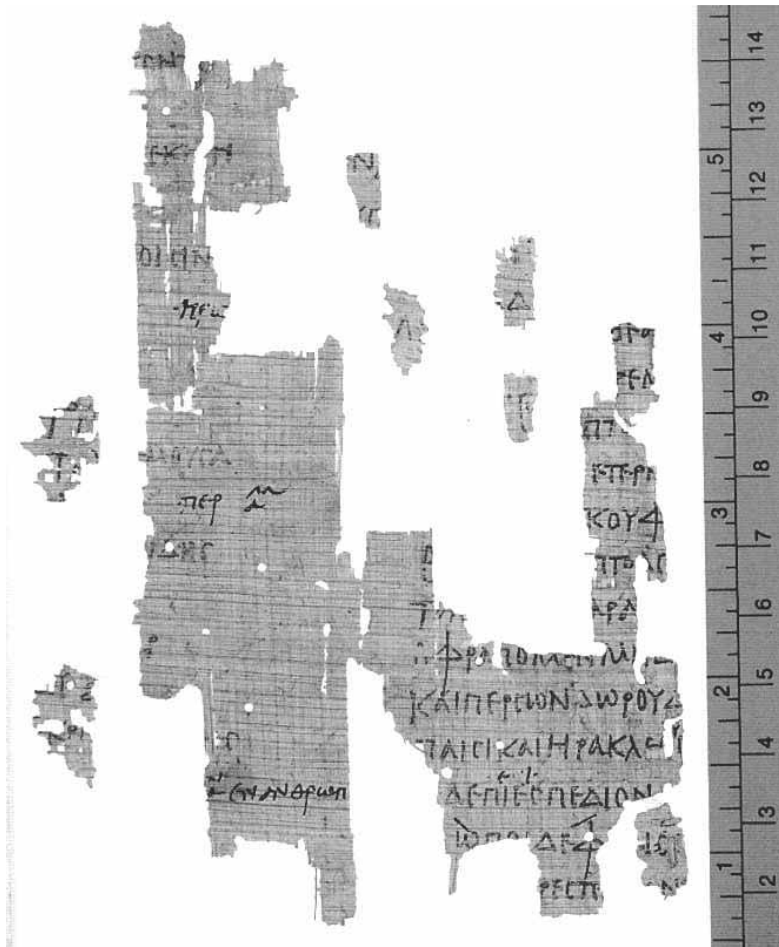
Not even the gods war against necessity.  
 I praise and love all men who do no sin willingly; but with necessity even  
 the gods do not contend.

We did not flinch but gave our lives to save Greece when her fate hung on  
 a razor's edge. —From the Cenotaph at the Isthmos  
 Painting is silent poetry, and poetry painting that speaks.  
 —Quoted by Plutarch

Variant translations:  
 Painting is silent poetry, and poetry is painting with the gift of speech.  
 Painting is silent poetry, poetry is eloquent painting.

### **The Oxyrhynchus Papyri**

The first fragment of Simonides' fifth century BC elegy on the Battle of Plataea, written on the occasion of the victory and in memory of those who fought and fell. The fragment contains parts of the proem, praising Achilles and the heroes who fought at Troy, then an invocation of the Muses and a transition to the historical part of the elegy narrating the battle. The fragment overlaps with Oxyrhynchus papyrus 2327 (image), first published as anonymous 'early elegiacs' by E. *Lobel*, who later recognised the identification with Simonides. Fr.27 of 2327 supplies the line-ends of the first column of this papyrus and remains of a second column, although the two papyrus manuscripts differed in their column layout:



*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* vol. LIX no. 3965 fr. 1; vol. XXII no. 2327 fr. 27  
 (www.csad.ox.ac.uk/POxy/VExhibition/3965.htm)

### **His Method of loci (The art of memory)**

According to Cicero's *De Oratore*, the Greek poet Simonides invented the 'Method of Loci.' The legend states that Simonides escaped a disaster that destroyed the building where he was having a dinner with other dignitaries. He was able to name the victims by recalling where they had been seated.



### **How to use the method of Loci**

To use the method of loci bring to mind a familiar building, such as your house. Take a moment to conduct a mental walk through the rooms in your house. Pay particular attention to the details , noticing any imperfections, like scratches: anything that makes your mental images more vivid. Make sure you can move easily from one room to another.

Along your route create a list of "loci" :i.e. well defined parts of the room that you can use later to memorize things.A locus can be a door, a bed, an oven, etc. Be sure that you can easily go from locus to locus as you visit the house.

Now, when you are faced with a list of words or ideas to be memorized, you must form visual images for each of the words and place them, in order, on the loci in your route. To recall the words or ideas now you take a mental walk throughout your house, asking yourself , "What is on the living-room door? What's on the sleeping room bed. What's in the oven?" And so on.

Associating the words or ideas to remember with the loci, you should create surprising images. More striking is the created image, more easily you will remember the thing.

### **What is the relationship between the method and the "Art of Memory"?**

The Art of Memory was about the use of space to remember things and was based indeed on the method of loci.So the method of loci is almost a synonym of Art of Memory.This mnemonic technique was used by the ancient rhetoricians and later orators until the invention of the press.The major points of speeches were remembered using the method. The orator would visualize walking through the rooms of their memory palace and associating the next point to be addressed with a successive **locus**. This is perhaps why we now say "in the first place."

Monks used the Art to commit to memory their sermons, lawyers would memorize their speech in the same way.

## **The connection between Simonides of Ceos and Giordano Bruno**

The Shadows of Ideas – Published in Paris 1582

**IORDANVS  
BRVNVS NOLANVS  
DE VMBRIS IDEARVM.**

**Implicantibus artem, Quaerendi, Inueniendi, Iudicandi, Ordinandi, &  
Applicandi:**

Ad internam scripturam, & non vulgares per memoriam operationes  
explicatis.

**AD HENRICVM III. SERE- PROTESTATIO.**

Vmbra profunda sumus, nè nos vexetis inepti. Non vos, sed doctos tam  
graue quaerit opus.

**PARISIIS,  
Apud AEgidium Gorbinum, sub insigne Spei, è regione gymnasij  
Cameracensis.**

**M. D. LXXXII.  
CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.**

# GIORDANO BRUNO



Giordano Bruno , a Dominican monk, left the convent where he learned the Art and wandered throughout Europe telling the secrets of the Art to all who would listen to him including the King of France. He was in 1600 *burned at the stake for heresy.*

His most famous book: *The Shadows of Ideas* in Latin but with some fascinating drawings of "memory wheels" Bruno, following the teaching of Neoplatonists ,thought that learning the Art gave magic powers: this was the Hermetic Art of Memory

## **A Short Introduction to The Hermetic Art Of Memory**

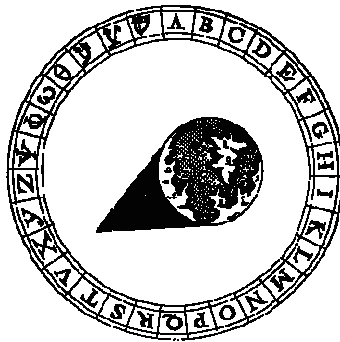
Images stored in the loci become more than a mnemonic device. They help us in getting a better understanding of the world. Through them we discover the true essence of things and their relationship. They have also magical powers acting like talismans. They are in fact the "Shadows of Ideas": the essence of reality.

After his death he was and is presented as a martyr of Science. The truth is that when he lived, modern science was not really born and we don't

really know why the Inquisition decided to condemn him (all documents about his process have been lost).

But, if the idea that Bruno lost his life because of his support for Copernicanism is probably false, the idea that he was condemned because of his beliefs about the magic powers of the Art of Memory, is probably true. So he may very well be a martyr of the method of loci.

#### TYPVS VMBRARVM



#### IORDANVS BRVNVS NOLANVS DE VMBRIS IDEARVM.

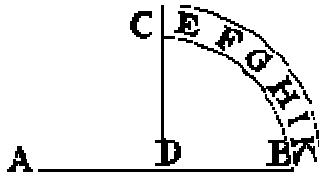
##### INTENTIO XXX. A.

Vt vero intelligis omnes vmbrarum differentias ad sex cardinales tandem referri: non minus scire debes quod omnes tandem ad vnam foecundissimam, aliarumque fontem generalissimum reduci debeant

In proposito (inquam) nostro vna potest esse omnium idearum umbra, Additione, subtractione, & alteratione generaliter dictis omnes alias conflans, iudicans, atque praesentans. Sicut in arte materialiter per substantium subiectum, formaliter autem per adiectium, quae recipiunt in se ipsis alterantia, transponentia & vniuersaliter diuersificantia: Analogiam enim quandam admittunt methaphysica, & logica, physica: seu ante naturalia, naturalia, & rationalia. Sicut verum imago, & umbra. Caeterum idea in mente diuina, est in actu toto simul te, vnico. In intelligentiis sunt ideae discretis actibus. In coelo, in potentia actiua

multiplici & successiué. In natura per vestigii modum quasi per impressionem. In intentione, & ratione per vmbrae modum.

Adest paradigma vnus, ideae actu infinitas rerum differentias habentis, & vnus vmbrae in facultate in finitarum differentiarum. Linea AB iacens lineam CD perpendiculariter cadentem & duos rectos angulos constituentem excipit. Iam si linea cadens inclinetur versus B: reddet angulum acutum ex vna parte, ex altera vero obtusum. Magis atque magis inclinata in F, G, H, I, K, & ita deinceps; obtusos, acutósque magis hinc inde dabit angulos.



#### DE TRIGINTA IDEA-RVM CONCEPTIBVS.

Iam ad triginta Idearum conceptus, primo simpliciter; secundo cum intentionibus vmbrarum complexé concipiendis, consequenter progrediamur.

#### CONCEPTVS PRIMVS. A

Lveiferos (inquit Plotinus) in facie Deus oculos fabricauit: caeterisque sensibus adhibuit instrumenta: vt inde tum naturaliter seruarentur, tum etiam cognata luce aliquid contraherent. Quibus sane verbis manifestat aliquid esse praecipuum, quod de mundo intelligibili ad ipsos pertineat.

#### CONCEPTVS II. B

Non fas est cogitare mundum istum plures habere principes, & per consequens plures habere ordines praeter vnum. Et consequenter si vnum est ordinatum, membra ipsius alia membris aliis sunt adnexa & subordinata. Ita vt superiora secundum verius esse subsistant, in extensam molem, & multiplicem numerum versus materiam se exporrigentia. Vnde ab eo quod est per se maximé ens; ad id quod minimuln habet entitatis, & prope nihil haud temeré nuncupatur fiat accessus. Quem ordinem cum suis gradibus, qui mente conceperit: similitudinem magni mundi contrahet aliam ab ea quam secundum naturam habet in se ipso. Vnde quasi per naturam agens: sine difficultate peraget vniuersa.

## CONCEPTVS III. C

Quia in iis quae semper fiunt non est consultatio, & argumentatio. Si aliquid demonstratum fuerit semper idem facere: actus argumentationis tollitur ab eo, tollitur & consilium. Sed vt quadam forma se ipsam foras quasi naturaliter exprimente vel aliquid é sua natura explicante, & effundente, opera sua perficit. Ad cuius operantis similitudinem propius accedit quod idem vt plurimum & frequentissime operatur. Fiet enim vt minus, miniméque cogitans & decernens, in perfectum, exquisitumque actum prodeat. Qui ergo in loco consistens atque tempore, á loco rationes idearum absoluet atque tempore: diuinis entibus in suis operibus conformabitur, siue ad intellectum pertineant, siue ad voluntates. Id fortasse faciebat is qui dixit.

IN CARNE CONSISTENTES NON SECVNDVM CARNEM VIVIMVS.  
CONCEPTVS IIII. D

Qvod si possibile est atque verum: intellectualem animam non veré insitam atque infixam, inexistentemque corpori licet apprehendere: sed veré vt adsistentem & gubernantem: ita vt perfectam à corpore seorsum pre se ferre possit speciem. Cui sententiae (sine controuersia) Theologus ille adstipulatur maximé: qui perfectiori eam intitulans nomine, interiorum hominem appellauit. Quod si pro huius confirmatione, operationes sine corpore eidem possibiles exquiras: Ecce certo loco temporique non adstrictis copulatur ideis, quotiescumque mente animo-ue solutus homo materiam destituit atque tempus.

## CONCEPTVS V. E

Habet anima substantiam ita ad supernos intellectus se habentem, sicut diaphani corpus ad lumina (vt & principes Platoniorum intellexere) quod pro diaphanitate transparentiaque sua, nonnihil velut innatae luminositatis admittit, quae semper est in actu cum exuta est á corpore, tanquam regionem lucis inhabitans. In corpore veró degens tanquam cristallus cuius diaphanitas opacitate terminatur: habet species sensibiles vagas: quae per conuersionem, & auersionem iuxta temporum, locorumque differentias, accedunt atque recedunt.

## CONCEPTVS VI. F

Rerum formae sunt in ideis, sunt quodammodo in se ipsis; sunt in coelo; sunt in periodo caeli, sunt in causis proximis seminalibus; sunt in causis proximis efficientibus, sunt indiuidualiter in effectu, sunt in lumine, sunt in extrinseco sensu, sunt in intrinseco: modo suo.

## CONCEPTUS VII. G

Receptione formarum ideó materia non impletur (vt per aeternam nouarum affectationem protestatur) quia nec veras accipit; nec veré recipit quod recipere videtur. Non enim quae verè sunt, sensibilia ipsa sunt, atque indiuidua: vt autumat qui haec primo, principaliter, & maximé substantias appellat. Quae. n. veré sunt semper manent: quae autem generationi subiacent, atque corruptioni non vere dicuntur esse. Quod non solum rectius philosophantibus placet. Sed & Theologorum alios audimus exteriorem hominem sub hac conditione naturali vanitatem appellantes. Alij vero cuncta quae fiunt sub sole, id est quae regionem incolunt materiae vniuersalem vanitatis notam subire volunt. Ab ideis igitur, ab ideis, conceptionum fixationem perquirat anima, si intelligis.

## CONCEPTVS VIII. H

Ideam primum hominem. Animam secundum. Tertium veró quasi iam non hominem dixit Plotinus vbi de ratione multitudinis idearum edisserit. Dependet secundus á primo, tertius á secundo, dum per ordinationem, contractionem, & compositionem, ordinatur ad physicam subsistentiam. Pro methaphysico igitur conceptu tertius ascendat in secundum: secundus in primum.

## CONCEPTVS IX. I

Idem, manens, & aeternum coincidunt. Idem enim quia idem, manet, & est aeternum. Aeternum quia aeternum, manet, & estidem. Manens, quia manens est idem, & aeternum. Nitaris igitur in ipsum idem oportet, vel id in quod identitatis habet rationem; vt permanenter, & perseueranter habeas. Id si capies: caput habebis quo specierum fixationem facias in anima.

## CONCEPTVS X. K

Sententia haec satis digna est vt in ea mentis acies figatur. Intellectus primus lucis amphitrites: ita lucem suam effundit ab intimis ad externa, & ab extraemis attrahit: vt quidlibet ab ipso pro capacitate possit omnia contrahere, & quae libet ad ipsum pro facultate per ipsius luminis viam tendere. Hoc forte est quod quidam intellexit dicens.

ATTINGIT A FINE VSQVE AD FINEM. & alius dicens. NON EST QVI SE ABSC. A' CAL. EIVS.

Lucem hic intelligo intelligibilitatem rerum quae sunt ab illo, & ad illum tendunt, & id quod concomitatur intelligibilitatem. Hae res cum profluunt aliae ab aliis, diuersae á diuersis; in innumerum multiplicantur vt eas nisi

qui numerat multitudinem stellarum, non |determinet: Cum veró refluunt vniuntur vsque ad ipsam vnitatem quae vnitatum omnium fons est.

#### CONCEPTVS XI. L

Primus intellectus foecunditate sua, modo suo propagat ideas non nouas, nec nouiter. Natura nouas res producit in numero, non nouiter tamen (modo suo) si semper eodem modo operatur. Ratio nouas atque nouiter in infinitum species format: componens, diuidens, abstrahens, contrahens, addens, subtrahens, or dinans, deordinans.

#### CONCEPTVS XII. M

Deformium animalium formae, formosae sunt in caelo. Metallorum in se non lucentium formae, lucent in planetis suis. Non enim homo, nec animalia, nec metalla vt hic sunt, illic existunt. Quod. n. hic discurrit illic actu viget, discursione superiori. Virtutes enim quae versus materiam explicantur: versus actum primum vniuntur: & complicantur. Vnde patet quod dicunt Platonici, ideam quamlibet rerum etiam non viuentium, vitam esse & intelligentiam quandam. Item & in prima mente vnam esse rerum omnium ideam, Illuminando igitur, viuificando, & vniendo, est quod te superioribus agentibus conformans, in conceptionem & retentionem specierum efferaris.

#### CONCEPTVS XIII. N

Continet lumen, vita intelligentia, vnitasque prima: omnes species, perfectiones veritates, numeros, rerumque gradus. Dum quae in natura sunt differentia, contraria, atque diuersa: in ea sunt eadem, conuenientia, & vnum. Tenta igitur an possis viribus tuis identificare, concordare, & vnire receptas species, & non fatigabis ingenium: mentem non turbabis, & memoriam non confundes.

#### CONCEPTVS XIII. O

Cvm deueneris ad rationem qua conformabere coelo corpori, quod animalium inferiorum etiam vilium ratione non vili formas continet pedem ne figito, sed nitaris ad intellectualis caeli conformitatem: quod totius mundi formas, praestantiori modo possidet, quam coelesti.

#### CONCEPTVS XV. P

Talem quidem progressum tunc te veré facere comperies, & experieris cum á confusa pluralitate, ad distinctam vnitatem per te fiat accessio: id enim non est vniuersalia logica conflare, quae ex distinctis infimis speciebus, confusas medias, exque iis confusiores supraemas captant: Sed



quasi ex informibus partibus & pluribus, formatum totum & vnum aptare sibi. Sicut manus brachio iuncta: pèsque cruri, & oculus fronti, cum sunt composita: maiorem subeunt cognoscibilitatem, quam posita seorsum. Ita cum de partibus & vniuersi speciebus, nil sit seorsum positum & exemptum ab ordine (qui simplicissimus, perfectissimus, & citra numerum est in prima mente) si alias aliis connectendo, & pro ratione vniendo concipimus: quid est quod non possimus intelligere memorari & agere?

#### CONCEPTVS XVI. Q

Vnum est quod omnia definit. Vnus est pulchritudinis splendor in omnibus. Vnus é multitudine specierum fulgor emicat. Quod si coniicias: tale inter oculos tuos, & vniuersaliter visibilia interpones oculare, ut nil sit quod te fugere possit omnino.

#### CONCEPTVS XVII. R

Error nobis & obliuio accidit; quia apud nos ex forma, & infirmi viget compositio. Formatio quippe corporei mundi, forma inferior est, ex ipsius enim vestigio, & deformitate componitur. Illuc igitur ascende vbi species sunt purae, nihil informe, & omne formatum ipsa forma est.

#### CONCEPTVS XVIII. S

Notauit Platoniorum princeps Plotinus. Quamdiu circa figuram oculis duntaxat manifestam quis intuendo versatur, non dum amore corripitur: Sed vbi primum animus se ab illa reuocans, figuram in se ipso concipit non diuiduam, vltràque visibilem: protinus amor oritur. Simile iudicium de obiectis intelligibilibus; ei quod est de appetibilibus. Hinc igitur inuestiga & contemplare quomodo species citius, viuacius, atque tenacius concipiantur.

#### CONCEPTVS XIX. T

Septem gradibus (quibus duos addimus) constare intellexit Plotinus Schalam qua ascenditur ad principium. Quorum. Primus est animi purgatio. Secundus attentio. Tertius intentio. Quartus ordinis contemplatio. Quintus proportionalis ex ordine collatio. Sextus negatio, seu separatio. Septimus, votum. Octauus transformatio sui in rem. Nonus transformatio rei in seipsum. Ita ab vmbris ad ideas patebit aditus, & accessus, & introitus.

#### CONCEPTVS XX. V

Omne quod est, post vnum; necessario multiplex est & numerosum. Praeter vnum igitur @tque primum omnia sunt numerus. Vnde sub infimo

gradu schalae naturae est infinitus numerus, seu materia: in supraemo vero infinita vnitas, actusque purus. Descensus ergo, dispersio, & euagatio fit versus materiam. Ascensus, aggregatio, & determinatio fit versus actum.

#### CONCEPTVS XXI. X

Per numeros (inquiunt nonnulli) entia, se habere ad id quod veré est, seu verum ens, sicut materia per inchoationem formarum se habet ad formas.

#### CONCEPTVS XXII. Y

Triplicem considera formam. Quarum prima est á qua rem ipsam formari contingit, vt poté quae producit actum: & istam non proprié ideam, vel rerum producendarum formam appellamus. Secunda qua res ipsa formatur tanquam parte: & huic non conuenit similitudinem dici eius, cuius est pars. Tertia quae aliquid terminat, & figurat tanquam inhaerens qualitas: & eiusmodi non potest recipere ideae rationem, cum ab eo cuius est forma non separetur. Quarta ad quam aliquid formatur, & quam aliquid imitatur: & haec vsu loquentium consuevit nomen ideae retinere. Et haec quatrifariam dicitur. In artificialibus ipsis, ante artificiata. In intentionibus primis, ante secundas. In principiis naturae, ante naturalia. In diuina mente, ante naturam & vniuersa. In primis dicitur technica, in secundis logica, in tertiis physica, in quartis methaphysica.

#### CONCEPTVS XXIII. Z

Quaedam formae imitantur vt ex natura: veluti imago in speculo obiectae rei formam. Quaedam ex institutione: veluti figura impressa sigillum. Rursum quaedam imitantur vt per se: quemadmodum pictura quae ex intentione pictoris aliquem presentat. Quaedam medio modo inter per accidens & per se: vt si fiat pictura ad presentandum quem potest presentare. Quaedam veró vt forté obtigit: quemadmodum cum effigiem depictam accidit praeter intentionem quempiam imitari. Quaedam nec per se neque per accidens quae ad nullum prorsus referuntur nec referri possunt imitandum, si possibile est tales esse formas. In primis est ratio maior idealis. In secundis minor. In tertiis minima, in quartis nulla.

#### CONCEPTVS XXIII. 1

Agens ex natura vel á casu, non ex praescripto voluntatis, non supponit ideas. Tale si esset primus efficiens: nullae essent ideae, & agens nullum ex arbitrio operaretur. Caeterum valeat Democritus, Empedocles & Epicurus. Si habes impossibile vt agentis ratio á quocunque separetur: & importunius ipsum id omnibus rimabere ni omnia tibi reddantur possibilia, reddentur plurima.

## CONCEPTVS XXV. E

Dixit vnus de nostratibus. Exemplaris forma habet rationem finis, & ab ea accipit agens formam qua agit quod sit extra ipsum. Non est autem conueniens putare deum agere propter finem alium á se, & accipere aliundé quo sit sufficiens ad agendum: idcirco ideas non habet extra se. Nos autem oportet eas extra, & supra nos inquirere: cum vmbras earum tantum in nobis habeamus.

## CONCEPTVS XXVI. I

Per speciem quae est in intellectu: melius aliquid apprehenditur, quam per speciem quae est in physico subiecto, quia est in-materialior. Similiter melius cognoscitur aliquid per speciem rei quae est in mente diuina, quam per ipsam eius essentiam cognosci possit. Duo requiruntur ad speciem quae est medium cognoscendi: representatio rei cognitae, quae conuenit ecundum propinquitatem ad cognoscibile, & esse spirituale, & in materiale secundum quod habet esse in cognoscente.

## CONCEPTVS XXVII. O

Sicut ideas sunt formae rerum principales, secundum quas formatur omne quod oritur & interit: & non solum habent respectum ad id quod generatur & corrumpitur; sed etiam ad id quod generari & interire potest. Ita tunc verum est nos in nobis idearum vmbras efformasse, quando talem admittunt facultatem & conrectabilitatem: vt sint ad omnes formationes possibiles, adaptabiles. Nos similitudine quadam formauimus eas, quae consistunt in reuolutione rotarum. Tu si aliam potes tentare viam tenta.

## CONCEPTVS XXVIII. V

Accidentium ideas non posuit Plato. Cum quippe intelligeret eas esse proximas rerum causas: vnde si quid praeter ideam esset proxima causa rei, illud non volebat habere ideam, ideóque in iis quae dicuntur per prius & posterius non esse voluit communem ideam: sed primum esse ideam secundi. Vnde Clemens philosophus in entibus superiora volebat esse inferiorum ideas.

Accidentium ideas esse volunt Theologi qui intelligunt Deum esse immediatam causam vniuscuiusque rei, licet secundos deos causasque non excludant. Et nos in proposito ideó omnium volumus esse ideas: quia ab omni conceptabili ad easdem conscendimus. De omnibus enim formamus vmbras ideales. Nec propterea destruimus Platonice doctrinam vt intelligenti patet.

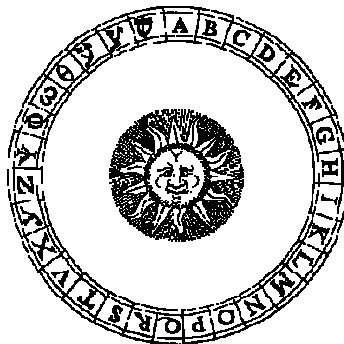
**CONCEPTVS XXIX. A**

Singularium ideas non posuit Plato, sed specierum tantum. Tum quia ideae pertinent ad formarum productionem tantum, non materiae. Tum etiam quia formae principaliter sunt intentae per naturam, non autem genera & indiuidua.

Singularium ideas ponunt Theologi, quia & quantum ad materiam & quantum ad formam attinet, totalem causam asserunt esse Deum. Et nos in proposito singularium ideas volumus, quia sumimus ideati rationem secundum vniuersalem figurati, & apprehensi similitudinem: siue illa sit ante rem, siue in re, siue res, siue post rem: atque ita siue in sensu, siue in intellectu, & hoc siue pratico, siue speculatiuo.

**CONCEPTVS XXX.**

Ideas minus communes in ideis communioribus generatas quidam collocant, ac tandem omnium idearum genera in ipso ente primo, quod summum intelligibile vocant, vniunt. Tu vmbras idearum minus communes in communioribus: & subiecta earum extrinseca minus communia, in comunioribus collocare memento.

**IORDANVS BRVNVS NOLANVS DE VMBRIS IDEARVM.****TYPVS IDEALIVM INTENTIONVM.****DE COMPLEXIONE QVAE FIT CONCVRSV PRIMAE****rotae cum secunda.**

Oportebit ergo volentem per se ipsum artem generalem ad habitum intellectus, voluntatis, & memoriae captare (licet eam in presentiarum ad memoriae perceptiones contrahamus): Primo callere elementarium primum

cum suis significationibus. Secundo secundum. Tertio secundum deducere per primum. Prima duo nos prestitimus, quae optimé peruia sunt versatis in peripateticis doctrinis & Platonis. Tertium ipsius industriae committimus.

Iam applicationem, & intentionis vniuersalis contractionem, ad artem memoriae aggrediamur.

Source - Bruno, Giordano Bruno, 1548-1600. De Umbris Idearum ('The Shadow of Ideas') by Giordano Bruno.